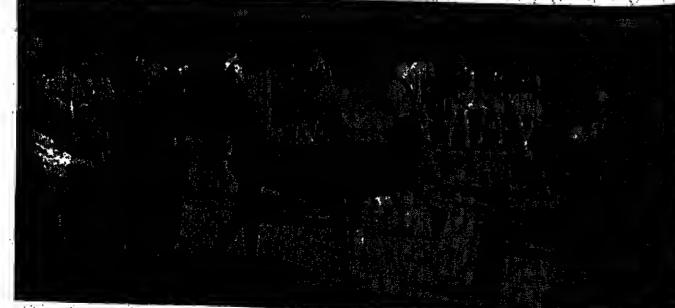
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A WEEKLY REVIEW OF THE GERMAN PRESS

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## US study sparks new European defence debate

First cama tha bombshell US strategic study recommending that a third of this country be abandoned in the event of a Soviet attack, then President Carter's prompt reassurance, which quickly allowed the dust to settle.

"US policy," Mr Carter stated, "is to maintain forward defence all over Europe. It is a tried and trusted policy drawn up jointly with our Nato alles. It remains entirely unchanged." No attempt has been made, on the

No attempt has been made, on the other hand, to deny that the confidential report as leaked albeit in oversimplified summary, was actually complied as Presidential Review momorandum 10.

But PRM 10 is, after all, merely a review and not official policy. Yet experience has nonethelesa shown that past changes in US policy and strategy have usually been heralded by studies of this kind, compiled both by official advisers and unofficial analysts.

Ever since the days of President Kennedy Bonn in particular has been somewhat mistrustful of reviews. Jimmy Carter may not be John F. Kennedy, but he too, initially perhaps more so than at present, was motivated by an imponderable urge to make fundamental changes.

Few of Mr Carter's closest advisers are career civil servants. With few exceptions (including, however, national secunity adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski) they were unknown quantities as far as Europe was concerned, not to say polltlcal amateurs briefing a still incxperienced President.

Against this background, and not to mention the bombshell nature of the subject matter, the effect in Bonn and at Nato hesdquarters was a foregone conclusion.

The outline carried by the Washington Post and the International Herald Tribune and written by columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak made the following assertions:

- In the event of a Soviet attack a third of this country, including Hamburg and Munich, will be abandoned to the aggressor because the forward defence potential is insufficient to hold the territory in question.

- The retrest to a defence line further back from the border is rendered necessary because the funds needed for forward defence of this country by conventional mesna are not forthcoming in the United States.

- Mr Brzezinski accordingly advises a stalemate strategy of falling back on the Weser-Lech line, leaving the Soviet Union to draw the political consequence of its ect of aggression.

- These, he is said to have stated, include world opinion, condemnation by the United Nationa and mobilisation by the United States. Fear of these consequences represents a powerful deterrent. In order to contain the devastating political effect of the leak Mr Brzezinski immediately rang Bonn Forelgn Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher to let him know that the President was about to issue a disclaimer.

Ho also summarised further explanations he had given Vlce-President Mondale, General George Brown, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral Turner of the CIA and US disamament delegate Paul Warnke when the review had come up for discussion.

The options Mr Brzezinski had outlined included resort to nuclear weapons, the mobilisation of between 100 and 150 divisions in order to throw the advenary back with the ald of conventional forces, a ground forces stalematc coupled with nuclear retaliation and, finally, an attack on targets in the Soviet Union itself.

Mr Carter's immediate clarification leaves no one in the alightest doubt as to Presidential policy. He emphasised the continuity of US commitments in Europe at the London summit in May, describing Nato as the crux of US foreign policy and calling for military reinforcement of the pact.

The estimates on which Mr Brzezinski bases his judgement on Western military presence in Central Europe are nonethelesa questionable, as is his assumption that up to 150 divisions could be mobilised to bring about conventional stalemate.

This constitutes an alarming discrepancy between his assessment of the situation from behind closed doors and the political reiteration of forward defence commitments by the President.

The public review will certainly no longer be restricted to the credibility or otherwise of the deterrent. After the lightning attack scare early this year and the latest insight Into the views of accurity adviser Brzezinski wa must pay more attention than hitherto to the preconditions of forward defence were the deterrent to prove insufficient.

Forward defence is the political yeast of Nato. Were it to be abandoned Nato Itself would face the threat of rapid disintegration, so it is only too easy to sce why President Carter was so quick to reassure his Nato allies.

What is more, this is only part of the

#### IN THIS ISSUE

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POLITICS A bright first 100 days for Berlin's Mayor Diatrich Stobbe



Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Ganschar with Mr Roelof Fraderik Botha in Frankfurt (Photo: dpa)

problem. The call for reinforcement of conventional forces is giving rise to difficulties everywhere.

The United States is in the process of stepping up its troop strength in Europe, stationing a brigade near Bremen which will be the first full-scale US unit in the north of this country.

But the President is unlikely to gain Congressional approval of higher expenditure unless Europe itself spends more on defence, which is an unlikely prospect.

This country cannot fill everyone else's gaps; its defence contribution is second to none in Europe as it is. Spectacular decisions, moreover, can only be taken at the risk of prejudicing the Vienna troop cut talks.

So a fundamental weakness of the West remains irremediable for the time being. On the one hand President Carter is opposed to an early resort to tactical nuclear weapons in the event of hostillties (s viewpoint that is aurely in this country's interest too); on the other we lack the conventional forces that would be needed both to forestall the need to fall back on the nuclear option and, indeed, to maintain the doctrine of forward defence.

Mr Brzezinski's review may have given rise to doubts in Europe as to his political acumen, but despite President Carter's prompt and credible disclaimer it will continue to have an effect.

The West's defence debate, which has been neglected for ages, has been given a shot in the arm. Kurt Becker (Die Zeu, 12 August 1977)

TRADE A States look to Bonn to grasp? the Initietive in commodities talks

ENERGY 145 minor mishaps at nuclear power plants in 12 years, Bonn report notes

PEOPLE Page 10 Phillosopher Ernst Bloch dies at 92

### Genscher meets Botha for talks on southern Africa



The situation in southern Africa was the key topic discussed by Bonn's Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher and his South African colleague Roelof Frederik Botha when they met last weekend for talks at the Airport Hotel in Frankfurt.

Mr Botha had interrupted his return trip from London where he had had talks with the British Foreign Secretary Mr David Owen and US State Secretary Cyrus Vance, to meet Herr Genscher.

Bonn's Forcign Minister used this opportuolty to spell out clearly to Mr Botha this country's stand on the situation in Rhodesia, Namibia (south-west Africa) and South Africa.

Observers said later that the two-hour meeting had been marked by a great deal of frankness, in other words, both Ministars pulled no punches in expressing the views of their respective countries.

And according to the Foreign Ministry in Bonn, this frank exchange of ideas with South Africa is essential.

As far as south-west Africa was concerned, Herr Genscher told Mr Botha, Pretoria should set in train a fast and frictionless transfer of power in the territory to the black majority.

territory to the black majority. Mr Botha th, turn assured Herr Genscher that his government was equally interested in achieving a speedy and reasonable settlement. One difficulty would ba the withdrawal of South African troops.

Herr Genscher also called on South Africa to sign the nuclear non-prolifaration treaty.

(Die Weit; 15 August 1977)

#### **INTRA-GERMAN RELATIONS**

2

### Honecker would like to meet Schmidt in East Berlin

Were the decision Erich Honecker's to take, the Intra-German talks, which heve been on lce for the past year, would be resumad with a spectacular encounter hetween himself and Bonn Chancellor Helmut Schmidt as a starter.

GDR State Council chairman and Socialiat Unity Party (SED) leader Honecker has been keen on the idea of an in-Ira-German aummil for some time, even going so far as to sound out the prospects in Bonn.

Erich Honecker and Helmut Schmidt first (and, so far, laat) met on i August 1975 during the Helsinki conference. The two leaders had no time to do more than strike up an acquaintanceship, exchanging pleasantries rather than confer-

Herr Honecker, who hos life social elimher's mania for prestlge, was most dissatisfied with the Helainki meeting. He felt he had been lreated as a peripheral figure, and thus below face-value. by Herr Schmidt.

What the GDR leader wants is something out of the ordinary, auch as a rendczvous with the Bonn Chancellor. He would dearly like to turn over a new leaf in East Berlin policy on the German Question - a new leaf associated with himself

Erich llonceker is still pursuing intra-Gennan policies framed by his predecessor and erstwhile mentor Waller Ulbricht, with a little help from Willy Brandt, who paved the way for change as head of the first Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn in October 1969.

In his 1969 government policy atatement Chancellor Brandt acknowledged the existence of two German States, which lead to a dialogue culminating in the encounters hetween Willy Brandt and GDR Willi Stoph in the apring of 1970

At that juncture Erich Horiecker was one of a number of GDR leaders who were opposed to the policy line laid down by Walter Ulbricht.

Herr Uibricht was keen to demonatrate flexibility in view of the negotiations between Bonn on the one hand and Moscow and Warsaw on the other.

Herr Honecker and his associates insisted that Bonn must accord the GDR full recognition under international law before ties of any kind were established. Erich Honecker did not abandon this demand until Walter Ulbricht and his less intransigent approach had been given the seal of Kremlin epproval.

Herr Honecker's hard line on ties with Bonn was due mainly to fear of what was lermed social democratism and of hopes that Bonn, with Social Democrats firmly in the saddle, and East Berlin, once it had embarked on a process democra , might lay the groundwork for German reunification.

The virus of social democratism is still endamle, hoth among the general public io the GDR and in tha ranks of the SED itself, and now he has taken over the reina of power in East Berlin Erich Honecker remains convinced that It is as dangerous as ever.

Unreat in the GDR, particularly dissent among intellectuals after the expulsion of writer Wolf Blamann, has certainly proved the point as far as Herr Honecker is concerned.

The GDR leader is determined to contacts that have been established with ensure that rebellion is put down among the intelligentsia, who will either kowtow, succumb to reaignation or pack their bags as a result.

Erich Honecker regards artists and writers as particularly important models of conduct and is in no way average to resorting to repression as a deterrent and a means of dissuading others from following in dissidents' footstens.

Herr Honecker's political programma basically amount to stepping up demarcation at home and abroad, a procesa ha envisages as preparation for full International recognition of the GDR, which this country refuses to grant.

The GDR leader realises full well that he cannot achiave this objective at one fell awoop, although he la trying to get recognition of GDR citizenahip and the demarcation between the two Germanles as an international frontler high on the agenda of the intra-German summit for which Bonn's Hans-Jürgen Wischnewski and East Berlin's Michael Kohl, the GDR's man in Bonn, ore to pave the

If need be, however, Herr Honecker is willing to proceed in a more roundabout way. He feels his bopes are encouraged by comments such as the view volced by Günter Gaus, Bonn's man in East Berlin, that this country may well have to modify its opproach to these two key issues becausa the Federal government's viewpoint will not prove tenable in the long run.

Erich lionecker concludes that Herr Gaus will hardly have been expressing a personal view and that much can be accomplished off the beaten track of official pronouncements from Bonn.

This inference is borna out further, as the GDR leadar sees it, by the unofficial him. Today's ties are tomorrow's treatles, he blandly assumes.

True enough, Chancellor Schmidt has written to Chairman Erich Honecker relaving a missive intended to start the intra-German ball rolling not via Günter Gaus, but via Wolfgang Vogel, the GDR lawver.

Bonn's man in East Berlin does not evan know what Helmut Schmidt wrote, so the SED leadership can hardly be blamed for fancying that Bonn is happy to negotiate behind the scenes.

In bypassing official channels Helmut Schmidt has acted on the advica of Herbert Wehner, Social Democratic leader in the Bonn Bundestag.

Unfortunately, in so doing he bas succumbed to an old failing of tha Social Democrats, their mistrust of bureaucracy. The SPD has always falt that if it wants to do a job properly it will have to do it itself.

The loyalty of civil servants is doubted a priori, so they are left in tha dark on purpose and, to cap it ail, tha Social Democrats then express surprise that the mandarins fail to deliver tha goods.

Erich Honecker has yat to respond to the Chancellor's letter, but It was definitely on the agenda of his foreign pollcy review with President Brezhney in the Crimea.

Herr Honecker will have told Mr Brezhnev that he would very much lika to meet Herr Schmidt, and if the Soviet leader gives him the go-allead an official invitation penned by the SED leader would land the ball finnly back in the Chancellor'a court.

Thia would certainly put Helmut Schmidt in a spot, since the GDR leader is keen to invite the Chancellor to confer with him in East Berlin, which in

#### Regardless of the outcome of the talk and the irksome possibility of stere such as the atanding ovation Will Brandt was given by the people of Es furt in 1970, an intra-German summe in East Berlin is clearly a tempine prospect for Herr Honecker.

GDR parlance is almost invariably trig

red to as the GDR capital.

Tha GDR leader would obvioush leave no stone unturned in trying b make out that the visit was tantamous to full recognition of the GDR as sign elgn country by Bonn.

In return he would no doubt be me pared to meet the Federal government and Weat Berlin Senate half-way on lk eighteen-point agenda for a wider my of intra-German talks. Jürgen Enget (Deutsche Zeitung, 12 August 19)

### Stobbe urges caution over Bonn's claims in West Berlin

Dietrich Stobbe, the new mayor d Weat Berlin, must, if he is to pre a success, do more than give the m good government and hold together his party, the Social Democrats.

He must also try to ensure that b divided city does not repeatedly resum its old role as a bone of contenlion b tween East and West despite the mo agreements that have been concluded a Berlin.

In the aftermath of the 1971 For Power Agreement It did indeed look ? though peace and quiet had at last i scended, but of late tha prospects have acemed steadily less promising.

The Soviet Union and the three Western Powera may not have agreed on the exact status of the divided city, but they nonetheless reached a compromise.

West Berlin was to retain its ties ru the Federal Republic of Germany, totvelop them even, but the Federal p vernment continues to be denied cert." rights because all Four Powers agree #

Continued on page 3

contemplate negotiations on the subil

of either tha order to border guards t

open fire on would ha refugees or the

form its border installations are to take

need negotiating before, at some dout

less distant date, a stage is reached b

which the GDR feels abla to dispers

with the precaution of kceping its pop-

The resumption of intra-German tab

iation behind bars.

Many, many human easements W

### There must be no let-up in negotiations

ixteen years bave now elapsed since **GDR** leaders, panic-stricken by the prospect of a mass exodus, started to build the Berlin Wall, an edifice Wolfgang Mlschnick, Free Democrat leader in the Bonn Bundestag, once aptly dubbed petrifled inhumanity.

The anniversary is yet another reminder to spare a thought for the divided city and the tribute the Wall has exacted In terms of human life. How is this disgraceful piece of architecture to ba demolished or, failing that, how might its the East bloc as a whole. repercussions be further alleviated?

Thera is no point in reltarating the eventa leading up to the building of the Wall and the mony unsatisfactory aspects of what went on in August 1961.

Experience has shown that nothing is to be gained by using it as a Wailing Wall, again to quote Wolfgang Mischthat its inhumanity and that of tha men played down.

It behoves us on humanitarian ably be associated. 1 P. 113

Human interest indeed calls for more - for a continuation, a tough and patient intensification of the nagotiations as a result, of which the division of Germany has, heen rendered at least slightly roore tolerabla.

It is gratifying to note that the Chriatlan Democrats do not propose to limit the terms of reference of the hearing they propose to hold in September to an all-out condemnation of human rights violations in the GDR in particular and

The Bono Opposition is now in fayour of negotiations with the GDR and of standing by Ostpolitik treaty obligations as advocated by Christian Democrat Bundestag deputies Olaf von Wrangel and Alols Martes.

Wrangei'a graduated approach would nonetheless ba inconceivabla without nick. Which is not, of course, to say the 1974 Basic Treaty batween Bonn and East Berlin which the Christian who ordered it to be built should be Democrats so vehemently opposed at the time. and Jones Take

It would, moreover, convey a more regrounda to uphold tha sense of injustice alistic impression if it ware arranged in with which the Berlin Wall must inevit- reverse ordar. East Berlin, is not, when all is said and done, prepared to (even

might conceivably hasten this develop Karl-Ludwig Kelber (Kieler Nachrichlen, 12 August 1979 ment, The German Tribune Publisher: Friedrich Reinecke. Editor-In-Chief: Dit Heinz, Editor: Alexander, Antheny, English: Jarger sub aditor: Henry P. Senders. - Dieiribution Marger Georgine von Pisten. Advertieing Mensger: Peter Boeckmenn.

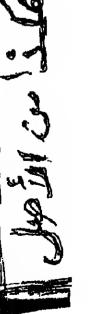
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### HOME AFFAIRS Schmidt holds top-level economic talks

It looks as though there is going to be some action on tha economic front soon. Chancellor Halmut Schmidt Invited not only Hana Friderichs, Hans Apel and Herbert Ehrenberg, tha Ministers of Economic Affairs, Finance and Labour respectively, to the sudden and surprising conference in the Visitors House of the Hamburg Senata last week. Foreign Miniater Hans-Dietrich

Genscher was also there, and his presence makes it clear that it was a coalition discussion in which the whole direction of government economic policy was the subject.

The reason for the meeting wos figures issued by the Federal Economics Ministry on the economic outblook. These figures had alarmed tha pensiona and unemployment insurances.

The total number of unemployed in July was 972,624. It is now clear that the target of five per cent economic growth set in January will not be reached this year. Four per cent is the most that can be hoped for.

These two facts combined made the Chancellor wonder whether he could keep up his economic "strong nerves" strategy. This strategy was based on he healing power of reductions in spending with the alm of reducing the weight of debt in the public sector.

It relied on companies' taking advantage of lower interest rates to build new factories, buy new machines and introduce new methods of production.

This economic policy of "holding out" was no longer viable. In a democracy the nervousness of the ruled is infectious and soon begins to affect the rulers, especially when so many dismal predictions are circulating.

The Chancellor has been overwhelmed with economic advice from the business associations and the uniona,

Thosa who analysed the situation cooly and critically - such as the economics experts' council and the economic insititues - knew that there were no readymade recipes, but that something had to be done.

The number of possibilities for the Hamburg discussion group was limited. The government is in no position to force the unions to be moro modest in their wage demands, which would in turn lead to more private investment.

Continued from page 2

West Berlin la not, strictly speaking, an integral part of the Federal Republic of Germany

Since the proscribed activities are catalogued, the inference must surely be that what is not expressly prolubited is permissible.

The Soviet Union, however, and its allies, especially the GDR, tend to feel that what is not expressly permitted is prohibited.

They not only try to prevent the development of ties, but also to reduce such ties as already exist, even going so far as to lodge a protest against the holding in West Berlin of the annual conference of the Association of German

Chimneysweeps. Mayor Stobbe has noted this alarming trend in an article in Europa-Archiv, wondering what can be done about it. He has no sure-fire solution and even points out that there are two sides to every issue.

"On our side," he writes, "verbal

All it can do is stimulate investment by reducing the risks of buying new plant and factories. The State can take on some of the risk by allowing the investor to postpone payment of tax until a later date, when profits start flowing in from his new purchases. The government could get such a

measure through parliament by means of a legal decree and without excessive parliamentary discussion, so that it could take effect on 1 Jonuary 1978.

The net income of the population could be alightly increased without increasing companies' coats if the govemment used the stability law provision which enables it to reduce income tax by up to ten per cent for a year.

Nobody should expect mirocles from either of these two measures, which were considered in the Hamburg diacussions. But at least they would not do Rudolf Herlt ony harm.

(Ole Zeti, 12 August 1977)

debate occasionally conveys the impresaion that the limitations on ties between West Berlin and the Federal Republic of Germany imposed by the United Slates, Britain ond France in previous treaties ond reaffirmed by all Four Powers in the 197] agreement ore not taken seriously."

In other words, impartial consideralion must be given in each and every instance to whether Federal government agencica ought to be established in Berlin. If Berlin is a suitable location, all well and good. But it does not have to be Berlin merely because the legal opportunity arises.

As in human rights, a good right can be rendered bad by being overused and misused as a political stick with which to beat the other side.

Dietrich Stobbe's counsels of caution will not make him only friends, but he nonetheless heading in the right direction if he wants to ensure that the divided city negotiates the Scylla and Charybdis of claims and realities.

(1-rankfurter Rundschau, 11 August 1977)

THE GERMAN TRIEUNE

#### Bonn plans cuts

#### in incometax

The federal government apparently intends to reduca income tax, for a limited period at least. This is good news, for two reasons. Firstly, the taxpayer is happy, because he has to pay less. Secondly, the move could give that economy tha boost it needs.

Up to now, Bonn governments have always reserved their tax gifts and outbursta of generosity for election years. When Hans Apel, the Finance Minister. recently spoke of a tax cut in 1980, onc could not help suspecting that this was meant to win a little bil of the electorate's favour.

In the case of the special reduction in tax which is opparently heing planned ot the moment, we do not need to suspect auch motives. Admittedly, there will be important elections in some states next yeor, but even apart from this, the Bonn government would have sufficient reason to take declaive steps to improve the economic stituation.

The recent increase in unemployment figures was not on its programme for this summer.

But it is too early to judge the govomment's proposed measures at the moment. It will make its decisions at the end of August ond it remains to he scen what they will look like in detail.

(Hunnoversche Allgemeine, 11 August 1977)

#### New measures to

#### combat terrorism

or some time now, the federal go I vernment and the states have been considering ways of combaling terrorisin more cffectively by means of improved co-operation. Last week they took an important step in this direction.

The Interior Ministers of the Bonn government and the states have unanimously agreed on measures to put an end to politically motivated violent crime. The central point of the discussion was the agreement to intensify cooperation between federal and state security scrvices.

This would be essential if such "breakdowns" (in the words of government spokeaman Grunewold) as the Hesse atate CID's delay in informing the federal office about the murder of banker Jürgen Ponto were to be ovoided in future.

The measures which have now heen passed hy tha Interior Ministers are hased on suggestions made hy the Interior Ministera' working party on police and Verfassungsschutz (Office for the Protection of the Constitution). They were worked out at a special meeting on 20 June. The ministries were not prepared to give details of tha plan. ...

It is known that the working parties have suggested new methods of police searches and new intenalfied methods of observation by federal and state security services and the federal CID.

The working partles' suggestions are a reminder that the decisions made at the Interior Ministers' conference on the II April 1975 must be strictly adhered to. It was then agreed that the federal CID cided several weeks ago that building ahould collect and evaluate all material on terrorism, direct and work out plans of operation to combat terrorists.

The stata CIDs have now been called upon to pass on all the information thay

> Rüdiger Moniac (Die Welt, 6 August 1977)

The dehate on atomic energy is characterised by contradictory statements ond government forecasts which are revised from one year to the next. The discussion on otomic energy is really hotting up now as the SPD and FDP party conferences in November draw

The position of the Bonn politicians who are responsible for atomic energy is invidious, thanks mainly to these contradictory forecasts. This is true for Research Minister Hans Matthöfer aa well as for his FDP colleague Hans Friderichs, who is strongly in favour of atomic energy.

In September 1973 the government passed its first comprehensive energy programme, Atomic energy played a relatively modest part in the first forecasts.

A total of 40,000 megawatt by 1985 was the target. Then came the energy crisis of the same year, caused by the Arah oil countries cutting supplies and trying to put on political pressure hy raising prices.

The first "continuation" of tha govemment energy programme in 1974 had to take this new situation into account. Bonn now reckoned that more electricity would have to be supplied by atomic coorgy.

By 1985, almost a half (45 per cent) of electricity, would have to come from atomic power stationa. To achieva this, 45,000 megawatt or "ideally" 50,000 me-

Parties uncertain over future atomic energy needs

gawett would he needed. These figures, too, were later to ba revised, this time downwards

In March of this year, the govarnment produced new estimates for its revised energy programme. In the meantime there had heen an economic recession.

The reduction in economic growth had led to a reduction in energy requirements. These forecast now was that 30,000 megawatt from atomic energy by 1985 would be enough. This would mean about eight atomic powar stations less.

And than there were the powerful oltizens' action campaigns against atomic power stations which Harr Matthöfer anenergy. The parties felt that they were heing by-passed hy these activities.

Just before the SPD anergy congress In Cologne at the end of April of this year, Hans Matthöfer auddenly discovered that 15,000 to 20,000 magawatts of atomic energy would ensure that the lighta did not go out all over Germany.

... Things are no different in the other parties, Economic Affairs Minister Hans Friderichs reckons with a dangerous gap In the energy supply which will endan-

ger the German economy and put jobs in jeopardy by the mid-eighties.

Lower Saxony'a Minister of Science Eduard Pestel (CDU) says that there will not be an energy gap until tha year 2000. One does not know who to believe.

Herr Mattböfer tries In his own way to reassure citizens lorn between fear of atomic radiation and economic fears. Even if there were a ban on the huilding of atomlc power atations, tha lights would not go out after 1985.

The worst that could happen would be measures to save electricity, drastic Increases in electricity prices for private consumers (around 20 per cent) and perhaps a special tax on colour television sets, "which use twice as much ele-Iricity as black and white ones."

Fears about atomic energy are in a large part due to concern about the disposai of atomic waste. The party conference decisions to stop huilding atomic ticipates will ha taken mainly bacause of doubts and concern on this aspect of the problem.

The FDP main federal committee depermission for atomic power stations should be refused uatil permission had been granted for the first stage of building for an atomic waste re-processing plant. This will probably take another have gathered to the federal office. three years. Siegfried Michel

(Nordwest Zeltung, 18 August 1977)

#### POLITICS

### A bright first 100 days for **Berlin's Mayor Dietrich Stobbe**

We had incredibly good luck too." This is how those close to Dietrich Stobbe, new mayor of West Berlin, explein the continuing explorie in Schöneberg town hall 100 deys after the new man took up office.

Insiders can only ascribe this "honeymoon" to an unusually high degree of political good fortune.

Thirty-nine-year old Stobbe has not once come in for serious newspeper criticism since taking up office - and that is saying something in the Springer lown which is by no mcans well-disposed to the social-liberal conjition.

Not a single opposition attack has come anywhere near the target. (Stobbe describes them as "boring.") And in his survey of the first 100 days the new mayor even went so far es to say that his position "was getting to be more and more fun." Thai is confidence.

Certainly, luck played quite an important part in the first stage of what Egon Bahr called a "new beginning." Stobbe's predecessor Kiaus Schutz left the centres of politicsl decision making in such a sorry state of almost suicidal depression that things could not possibly get any worse and his successor was in e way bound to be greeted as a saviour.

fu the first half year of his office, there were a number of events which were of considerable importance for the attractiveness and self-esteem of the town: the Evangellcai Church conference, the 15th European exhibition of art, the internetionel radlo exhibitton and the festival with its full programme. What other German town could have given its mayor an even remotely comparable accompaniment to his first 100 days of office?

But juck and fun alone cannot form the bssis of a period in office which, in mein in the SPD as a left-winger." But view of Stobbe's comparative youth, is he may not remsin in the party for intended to be a long one. The stress on much longer. strong leadership compared to the laxness of past years cannot be an adequate explanation either.

Stobbe declared in his inaugurai speech that "we are determined to govem more and to do a better job of administration." Stobbe hes flung himseif wholcheartedly into his task, and has shown considerable acumen, judgement and commitment.

Hc is obviously trying, and in some measure succeeding, to live up to his promises. If he goes on as he has started we will no doubt continue to read headlines and comments such as these in West Berlin pepers for some time now: Slobbe "puts pep into Berlin"; Dietrich Stobbe, "the man who is now at the helm, is o man who belleves in cfficiency. He came out of the starting blocks which Steffen described as "a particularso fast that he has got a comfortable lead on the rest of the field."

Everyona we spoke to ot Schöneberg town hall confirmed the accuracy of these remarka. The only trouble is: they dale from 27 Oclober 1967, refer to Klaus Schütz and make one doubl whether Diotrich Stobbe's laurels are going to stay fresh any longer than his predecessor's.

The West Berlin "Abend" did write

this about Kiaus Sch0tz on that 27 October: "The new mayor is riding the crest of the wave at the moment, but there will be troughs, too, in the future."

THE GERMAN TRIBUNE

How quickly the slum came. Half a year later, Golo Mann auggested Schütz should stand down and let writer Günter Grass take his pisce.

Stobbe, too, is a sceptical and realistic man desplte his public optimism and he knows perfectly well that he is going to come down to earth with the Senate in the near fulure. His new idesa and proposals, which have been following one another at breathtaking pace up to now. will inevitably dry up some time.

And then we will see what Stobbe has got in reserve and things will start getting exclting. When, in about a hundred deys time, we analyse the main priority areas for Seante until the next election, there will be at least two important areas where great successes are not likely to be achieved.

One is foreign policy, which is cruciai for every mayor in the Western part of this city, even though the Senate itself has little direct influence here.

Speaking to the Aspen Institute in June, Stobbe said: "In the new few years we will have to continue and extend our co-operation with the East and try to break down some of the barriers of mistnist between us.

"Berlin has, in aii modesty, a vitai role to pisy in this process. This will not, of course, change power structures, but it will lessen the effect of these structures on people. There are certeinly alternatives to the present policy of detente, but there are no senaible elternatives."

H and so he never learnt the art of opportunism." This is the "Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung'a" comment on Jochen Steffen.

Steffen's reply: "People do not know how much opportunism it takea to re-

Steffen, who has been a Social Democrat aince 1945 and is a member of the federal party executive is seriously conaidening leaving the party if it does not change its employment policiea radically. The aitemative for him would be tha FDP: "I know it is a party which basically uphoids privileges, but it still stands for liberai freedoms.

In the magazine "des da" of which he ls a co-editor, Steffen wrote "Conjectures about Uncie Herbert". It was wideiy taken as invective against Herbert Wehner, and since writing it "rad Jochen" himself has been subjected to a iot of abuse.

His party coileague Conrad Ahlers ihal he was very aick and had to be dealt with considerately - a remark iy perfidious form of repressiva tojerance

Ahiers added that Steffen had been drifting irresiatibly towards the left. Steffen sees things differently; it is not he who is drifting left, it is the SPD drifting righl.

In fact Steffen is, unlike many others, totsily consistent and true to himseif. He is a seif confessed marxial, but a vioienl opponent of "GDR socialism", a re-

. . .

### SPD critic Steffen is thinking of leaving the party



(Photo: Svan Simon)

formist in a party which is suspicious of the least reform, a man who mobilises, but also polarises opinion within his psity and outside it.

Steffen led the Schieswig Holstein SPD for nearly ten years up to 1975. During this time, he made no accret of the fact that his was a socialist party.

Peter Glotz (Science and Research) Dieter Sauberzweig (Cultural Affair and Olaf Friedrich Sund (Labour ad

(Photo: Sven Sing)

Social Ministry) have brought their apertise and dynamism to the task and are, according to Housing Minister Han Rostock, "a joy to work with" at Sense

They bring with them that contat with the outside world which dispels ik air of timidity and lack of initiation which hung over the town until recent

The "open secret" of Stobbe's metoric rise is that he is convinced of the city's present and illstoric importence and stresses it when trying to overcome defeatian, malaise and carping within his own ranks. He wants to encourage and spur people on.

At the beginning of he week he puticly criticised the administration for MA atimulsting enough interest and provid-Continued on pege 6

Schleswig-Holatein hes been ruled by the CDU for 27 years and in 1971 b former feilow atudent Stoltenberg #0 the absolute majority for the CDI However, the SPD still got 41 per cent

Not ao iong ago, Steffen expressed is opinion that the SPD was better off a Opposition. He has now changed b mind. "Basically it doas not metter of way or the other which way the Soat Democrats fail to provide an allemat tive."

Writing of Wehner, Steffen seys ins he "always worked off his frustrations a tha political atruggle in a cynically # gressive, insultingly scornful or dirty and vulgar manner."

There is a sanse in which the same # true of Steffen himself. Steffen is by 10 meana a patiant comrade in committee and he has expressed his bitter research ment at the fact that "the SPD is i party which explains the necessity @ capitalism to the workers," and that the Chancellor believes "in an elite .which politics for the masses.

If Steffen reaigns his seat in the siste parliament and does not atand for election to the faderal party executive, this will not mean he will have no political! authority in future.

He will go on working out the thoughts on the "democratisation a democracy" and for the laft he will It main what ha always has been; an alternative in an SPD which is no longer the lesser evil. G. Marie Schönfeld (Deutsches Allgemeines Sonniegebiet, 7 Adgust 1977 

and more prepared to contemplate new measures in this sphere. meetings. Stobbe's third aim, on the communal ievel, is to eatablish a balance between

The second area is the economy.

Since 1970 the number of jobs has de-

creased by 27 per cent, despite consider-

able efforts to prevent this. Even those

in control of the economic administra-

tion, which is in FDP hands, are more

the inner-city working class areas and

the privileged outer suburbs of "green

Berlin." In the short term, there is not

about the pink clouds hanging over

Schöncberg town hall, there are signs

that this Senate, with Dietrich Stobbe at

its head, could atili win the struggle for

the majority in the next election in a

year and a haif's time - despite its al-

most hopeless starting position. The new

men in the governing team are proving

their worth every day.

Whatever one's reservationa may be

much glory to be gained in this.



Bariin's Mayor Districh Stobbe with Chencelior Heimut Schmidt

21 August 1977 - No. 80i



#### No. 801 - 21 August 1977

THE CONSTITUTION

The Hesse administrative court has

I now ruled, after an appeal, that the

state of Hesse is not obliged to give Sil-

via Gingold e permanent pensioneble.

position as a tescher, cerrying the stetus of a civil servant.

The reason: Slivia Gingoid is a mem-

ber of the DKP (German Communist

Perty) which is "hostile to the constitu-

At the seme time the court ellowed a

complaint by the Bundesbahn (Federal

Railways), who hed refused to give Wer-

ner Krone a permanent position in its

construction department on the grounds

Leave to appeal to the Federal Consti-

tutional Court was refused in both cases.

In Frankfurt the defance counsel an-

nounced that they would put in a com-

plsint against not being given leave to

They described the judgements

egainst their clients as a bletant diare-

gard of the basic right of professionei

freedom which is gueranteed in the

Besic Law and a disregard of the "psrty

privilege" (i.e. the ruling that only the

Federal Constitutional Court and no

The Hesse administrative court

reversed the previous decision calling

upon Education Minister Krolimenn

(SPD) to reconsider his refusal to to give

Silvie Gingold a permenent post in view

The Bundesbehn had also been oblig-

ed, according to the first ruling, to give

Werner Krone a permanent post as an

The reasons for the new ruling in Kro-

ne's case have not been mede public. In

other can declare a party "hostile to the

that he wes a member of the DKP.

tion

appeal.

constitution")

of her qualifications.

officiei

### Hamburg lays down loyalty guidelines

fter threa years of argument in the A social-ilberal government and fourteen months of tough negotiations, the Hamburg Senate has now laid down new guldelines for "the procedure for determining loyalty to the constitution."

This means that for the first time aince the radicals' decree was introduced six years ago, procedures have been devised which, in the Senate's opinion, guarantee "a maximum of legality and fairneas."

The main staff council, which represents Hamburg's 100,000 employees and the various unions to which they belong, put the finishing touches to the guide-

In March it made use of its vote of co-determination in administrative procedural matters and rejected the Senate'a first draft.

The negotiations which followed on thia were at times tough, but always to the point and in them both sides managed to eliminate some of the vaguer formulations of the original draft and replace them with precise regulations.

Dieter Heering of the Nordmark branch of the DGB (Trade Unions' Confederation) observed that "we have found an exemplary procedure."

As itas been the practice up to now, all candidates for positions in the state service or for the office of judge will have their loyalty to the constitution exemined.

In the case of public service empiovees end workers, there will only be a investigation procedure if their work "involves important matters of state." The criteria for determining what important matters of state are will be quite ciear and strict.

The Senate also stipulates in what areas investigations of workers and empioyees ahouid take place. A list has not yet been worked out, but in the Senatonsl office for the Administrative Service, the "employera" of all the citystate's civil servants, they assume that every candidate for the police and legal service and for school and sociat service, tax euthorities and fire brigade will be investigated.

Only "evidence which would be valid in a court of law" can be used against candidatea in future.

In addition, only information which has already been acquired may be used. "Investigations and research by the authorities themselves are not allowed."

If the employing authority has no reservationa about a candidate's loyalty to the constitution, the Verfassungsschutz Office for the Protection of the Constitution) will no longer be informed.

If the Verfassungsschutz is brought in, it may still only provide feots which would be valid in a court of law. Furtbermore, these faots must have been obtained "within the, framework of the execution of its legal function."

This formulation is a reference to the draft law which is still being discussed in the SPD and FDP parliamentary parties, This iaw will, for the first time, put the Varfassungaschutz on a clearly

defined legal footing this autumn. The new guidelines will not dispet the controversy about the need for a radicals' decree or the evaluation of each individual case. But the procedure for investigating loyalty to the constitution has at least been given a form which conforms to the requirements of a State based on the rule of law. Werhart Otto

the reasons for the decision has been published.

teacher civil service status

One of the main reasons for the Hesse administretive court's ruling is the DKP's "hostility to the constitution." The perty presents conditions in the Soviet Union and the GDR as exemplery. Its goei is to realise the state end social system of the GDR in the Federal Republic of Germany.

"The DKP and the KPD both acknowledge the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, The DKP avoids in its programmatic ststements eny positive reference to political freedoms, division of power, governmental responsibility and the inependence of the judiclary. In a socieiist system such as the DKP desires these basic principics of a free and democratic society would have no validity.

"Even if the DKP wants to achieve its political auns in the Federal Republic of Germeny by democratic means, it has not finally renounced the possibility of a revolutionary change. In this respect it is no different from the DKP which was prohibited in a judgement of the Federal Constitutionel Court," the verdict stetes.

In 1975 the Federal Constitutional Court stressed that each individual case should be exsmined and that membership of the DKP alone did not constitute sufficient grounds for excluding e condidate from state service.

The Kassel judges have tried to observe this principle by pointing out that Silvia Gingold was not just a DKP member. She also stood as a DKP cendidete in the netional elections and was particularly octive in representing the interests of the DKP.

This proved that she enjoyed "a position of special trust" within her party. Silvia Gingold's counsel described this passege in the judgement as "an unperclicied disregard of the right to be ejected."

The administrative court also deives into her youth in its efforts to underpin its judgement. The Court ruled that information gathered by the the case of Gingold the entire text of Verfessungssciutz (Office for the Pro-



(Photo: dpa)

tection of the Constitution) could not be used in deciding whether an applicant could be appointed

The Kassei judges claim thet this ruling is only valid for the preparatory service, witercas Silvia Gingold wanted to be appointed to a permanent post as an officisi. Furthermore, her activities since 1968 could not be regarded es "youtiifui

The defence argued that Silvie Gingold's parents were in the anti-Nazi resistence movement, some of her relatives were gassed in Anschwitz. She has had an anti-fascist upbringing which led almost automatically to membership of the DKP.

The court said that Silvie Gingoid's reasons for joining the DKP were irrelevant. it was also irrelevant that her work was exemplary and that she had so fer made no attempts to indootrinata iter pupils (she is working as an 'Angestelite' salericd employce-teacher.)

The Hesse Minister of Education Kroilmann said that she would continue to be employed in the school service as a ssienied employee. The court hed only niled on the question of whether she was entitled to e permenent state post es on officiai.

Herr Krolimann edded that the court hed not mede eny new ruling on whether one could demand the same degree of ioyalty from selaried employees es from tcochers with civil service stotue.

(Süddeulsche Zettung, 11 August 1977)

he duty to defend the free and democratic basic order of the Federal Republic of Germany is indivisible. it does not apply only at the place of work.

Tha case was as follows: the university of Hamburg wanted to give a lesding official of the Hamburg DKP Comunist Party) a teaching post. The town of Hamburg, which is responsible for the university and the employar of all univeraity personnel, refused to confirm the appointment. Litigation than followed.

The supreme edministrative court Hamburg ruled in favour of the town council and the Federal adminiatrative court has now upheld its decision. This ruling is finsl.

The teacher in question has been a permenent state official since 1970. The ruling raises the question whether ha should be removed from this position on the basis that there are justifiable doubts about his loyalty to the constitution.

The judgement reads as follows: "In the opinion of the Federal administra- to the constitution." (Die Wett, 11 August 1977)

### not restricted to work, court rules

tive court the school tescher performs a task which is of great political importance. The Senate sees no reason to consider the position of university teacher iess significance in this context."

It adda: "According to rulings of the Federai Constitutional Court and the Federal Administrative Court, the guarantee of freedom of teaching considerable independence in the pursuit of their profession, more independence than in general regulations for state officials.

"But their general status as officiala" remsins unaffected by article 5, para. 3, section I of the Basio Law. The right of academic freedom does not free the university teacher from his duty to be loyal ruled on the question in February 1975.

The Federal administrative court stresses in its judgement that the state officiai's "duty to be loyal" is in no way limited, not even in the area of university teaching.

This means that candidetes for state posts, holders of state posts (Beamte) and those in equivalent positions must uphoid "at the very least" the basic values which, according to article 70, of the Besic Law, cannot be changed.

These are, according to the Federal administrative court's list: respect for the basic human rights set out in the Basic Law; national sovereignty; division of power; government responsibility; the legality of the administration; the independence of the courts, the party system, equality of opportunity for all political parties and the right to opposition.

This is the third Federal administretive court judgement on the employ-ment of extremists in the public service (Az.: VII C 17. 74.) The Berlin court last

Loyalty to State

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## **African States look to Bonn to grasp** the initiative in commodities talks

F ollowing the debaole of the North-South talks in Paris stock has been taken in plentiful and productive discussion at the OAU aummit in Ltbrevilla.

Consideration was given to ways and means of meating the industrialised countries half-way so as to arrive st a working consensus on international economie sffairs after all.

Particular attention has been paid to the important part this country has to play, and Foreign Minister Genscher has twice interrupted his summer holidays for stopover talks at Frankfurt airport with Foreign Minister Jean Keutcha of Cameroun ; and President Nyerare of Tanzania.

At the Unctad conference in Nairobi Bonn was rated a hard-liner, but nowadays this country's flexible attituda towards developing countries demands is widely acknowlegded.

African sppreciates that Bonn's change of heart on the Common Fund proposal has come in for harsh criticism from Industrial opinion in this country and thus goes about as far as tha Bonn government can afford to go politically.

In return for greater flexibility on commodities, however, this country would tike to come to terms on energy and investment safeguards.

### **Berlin's Mayor**

Continued from page 4

ing enough publicity for the European srt exhibition "Tendencies in the 20s".

After the success of the Statifor exhibition in Stuttgart, Stobbe has come up with the fascinating, but difficult to realise suggestion of setting up a Prussia exhibition in West Berlin.

There have been a number of petty objections to this from within his own ranks, but Stobbe explains that he "does not want to make a spiked heimet exhibition out of it."

, The exhibition would be planned and run by an international couocii of high calibre and the "world's eyes would be on Berlin." It would not be a privincial, small-time project, he assured them.

This seems to be a psychological harking back to the old capital city mentality. Stobbe is determined to doeverything he possibly can to make Berlin a major European metropolis again if it is not one already.

...

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His key-word is self-confidence, but there are others: openness, generosity, willingness to argue and discuss, patience in the face of political criticisms - virtues which all have yet to be put to the test.

But in the meantime tha optimistic, get-up-and-go style of the new mayor is already beginning to have its effect. Some months ago, the Christian Demo-crats tried to gain power by continually calling for votes of no-confidence in Schutz On the 100th day of office, the "Abend" headline wos: "Peter Lorenz wants grand coalition with SPD in Berffn." Otto Jörg Weiss

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 10 August 1977)

Thingesbert

President Bongo of Gabon, host to the OAU summit, would like to see this country grasp the initiative on the industrialised world's behalf in the North-South dialogue. So would political icadars in Zambia, Kenya and the lyory Coast.

Africa would, indeed, like the dialogua to become a permanent institution, mediating as and when required, laying down limits, arranging settlements an generally forestalling crises.

in African eyes the United States has proved either unable or unwilling to take on this role.

African opinion has swung round in favour of institutionslising the North-South talks partly because the European Community, as it well realises, will, in the long term, remain Africa's major trading partner, with Bonn playing a leading rola.

African leaders olso recall the fair deal they were given by this couatry in the nogotiationa leading up to the signing of the Lome Convention between the EEC and an initial 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries.

Last but not least, Bonn provides developement ald without strings, which is more than can be said for a good many donor countries.

Last year African exports to this country comfortably exceeded imports. Exports were up 18.1 per cent to 16.900 million deutschmarks, while imports were up a mere 13.7 per cent to 14,100 million deutschmarks.

Bonn was thus in the red, as it were, to the tune of 2,800 million deutsch-

Industrial imports from East bloc countries are likely to increase at a faster rate over the next few years, according to the World Trade Institute, Kiel

Imports of rsw materials and foodstuffs will decline in significance, so that by 1980 more than half tha industrial goods imported from East bloc countries will be consumer goods and capital investment.

The Klel economists forecast swifter progress towards integration between this country and the East bloc than in the sixties.

imports of industrial products from the East bloc are not, on the othar hand. likely to increase as dramatically as similar imports from the developing countries have done since 1970.

Between 1975 and 1980 industrial imports from East bloc countries are anticipated as having increased at an sycrage annual rate of twelve per cent, foilowed by average growth fates of 12.7 per cent ovar the following five years.

For purposes of comparison it may be noted that the corresponding increase in the first half of tho seventies was a mere 7.6 per cent.

In the early seventies sales of investment goods from the East bloo increased in value by a more two per cent per an- markedly last year.

marks in 1976, as against 1,800 million the year before.

As a percentage of Bonn's overall foreign trade, howevar, business with Africa has declined marginally, as African observers have been gulck to notice.

Exports to Africa last year accounted for 5.5 per cent of total exports, as sgainat 5.6 par cent the year before, while the corresponding figures for imports were 7.6 sn 7.8 per cent respecti-

industrial opinion in this country at-tributes this slight decline to fighting in various parts of Africa. Imports from Angola were down 57.3 per cent, from Mozambiqua 58.8 per cent and Rhodesis 33.3 pcr cent.

There have been increases too, of course, especially oil from Nigeria, Gobon and Libya an higher world msrket prices for a number of crops such as coffee, tea and cocoa.

In the case of certain sgnicultural: imports there have been increases of severai hundred per cent, as, for instance, in Kenya's case, but the quantities concerned remain insignificant in the overall context.

The major suppliers continue to be South Africa for ore, Libya, Algeria and Nigenia for petroleium and Ivory Coast for farm produce of all kinds.

mains this country's best customar in the continent, buying goods to the value of 3,149 mlilion deutschmarks - an increase of 34.1 per cent on tha year before.

developed as satisfactorily, Industrial sources in this country concede. It may have been up 7.6 per cent last year, but this compares ill with the 1975 growth rate of 17.2 per cent, especially as

twenty per cent; with similar increases

Growth rates will be lower for raw.

materials and foodstuffs, for which ave-

rage annual increases of 7,1 and 5.9 per-

cent respectively are forecast for the se-

deriva indirect benefit from an increasa

in sales of East bloc industrial goods'

in recent years East bloe countries

have accumulated such high debts in

this country that they tend to feel im-

ports from the Fedaral Republic of

Germany must not increase at a faster rate

than exports to this country that the parts

its indebtedness to this country, with

the result that ordera began to stagnate

The East bloo resolved not to increase

Exports from this country ara likaly to

in imports of consumer goods.

cond haif of he seventies.

investment in Africa accounts for a mere four per cent of overall private investment abroad.

There is further growth potentisi here and Bonn spokesmen repeatedly point out that Bonn provides a number of incantives to invest in Africa; it is now up to Africans themselves to improve investment safeguards and efficiency.

Forecasts for the current year are movi encouraging. In Nairobl sources from this country have on more than one of casion been reported as feeling that investment conditions are looking up all over Africa,

Stepping up the rata of investment. they argue, is the only way this country can help African economies in the long term, especially in the industrial sector.

But periodic protestations of goods .... are not enough to encourage investor and neither are legal safeguards, which are not tied to be worth more than the paper on which they are printed.

What investora need is more substan tial encouragement, such as capital trans for and permission to export profils. credit and tax, concessions, regional planning for sales markets and, as far u possible, a free hand in hiring and firing.

Kenya'a bid to surmount the Paris deadlock could well lead to improvement slong thea lines, but Bonn will need to ensure, in the courses of its spproaches to African governments, that this courtry does not come in for even heavier fire for its substantial trade with South Africs.

Tha Bonn government will need to argue that its policy on South Africa b governed not only by economic interest but also by peace policy and that this country con only play the part that is exin southern Africa by retaining its endnomic role.

Africans who are prepared to admit that these arguments carry a certain omount of conviction note, however, that Bonn should put to more delerinined use such influence as it owes to its economic ties with southem Africa. (Handelsblatt, 2 August 1977)

The Kiel economists point out that East bloc countries have been increasingly successful since the early seventies in selling industrial products on the domestic market, even proving mor competitive that others.

This success was due in part to free trade with the East bloc from the micsixties on. What is more, the East blocs ranga of industrial goods coincided with demand potential in this couotry.

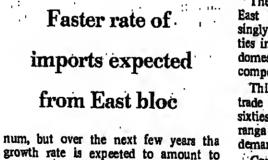
Comecon countries have proved particularly competitive in sectora involving standardised, mass production, especially labour-intensive industries.

Successes have also been achieved in capital-intensive industries, such as wood finishing, cellulose, paper and card, set mills and oil refineries, earth and stong loodstuffs and non-ferrous metals,

Roughly half industrial trade between this country and the East bloc is in see tors in which there is a two-way traffig such as textiles metal processing, nonferrous metals, earth and stone, ceramic and glassware.

This reciprocal trade is not esidever loped as with industrialised countries in the West, but, it is more intensive that with tha Third World. .70.44

Hans-Jürgen Mahnke (Die WelfLa August 1977)



On the export side South Africa re-

Private investment in Africa has not

### German building firms strike it rich with contracts abroad

ithough there is a slump on the A home building markat, the major German building companies are still able to pay out juicy dividends to their shareholdara. Tha reason: German building firms are increasingly moving into the foreign market.

The dividends shareholders receive are more often thon not eamed on foreign building sites - takings from work done in the Middle East, South America, or the Far East.

If you want to pinpoint precisely where these German firms are burrowing, you need a very detailed atlas. In the Sultanata of Oman, for axample, Strabag is building a road from Sohar to Ai Ain through difficult mountainous terrain. In Nigeria it is building the complete airport building and on almost 4 kilometre long runway at Murtals Muhammed airport near Lagos.

Tho Philip Holzmann AG recently built a fine mosque in Taif (Saudi Arabla). It is constructing a giant quay wall in Richards Bay harbour in South Africa ond in Morzog In Libya it is working on an irrigation project.

Thare is olso the entlcing prospect of on extension for the university of Tripolis in Libya. And in Saudi Arabia, Holzmann have got an order to extend the horbour in Dammon.

German workers are tunneling at Lok Fu station for the Hong Kong underground, constructing the new interna-tional airport at Jeddah in Saudi Arabia and building atomic power stations No. I and No. 2 near Bushehr in Iran.

It is difficult to pinpoint the exact moment when these German firms were all bitten by this bug. The trend certainly bacame more noticeable when oil becamo drastically dearer in 1973/1974.

The German economy began to sag visibly at the time. But at the same time the Central Bank saved many Germans from the dread of inflation by tightening money controls. This led to the collapse of the building market.

It was fortunate for the building firms that the Opec countries had money to bum at the time. And so the march abroad began, particularly in the direction of these Opec countries.

The figures are as follows: German firms got orders worth 1,300 million marks from abroad in 1972 and for 1,500 million marks in 1973. In 1974 and 1975 the figures had soared to 5,200 million and 7,300 million marks respectively.

Last year the number of orders from abroad for the building industry resolted an all-time record of 12,000 million marks. By far the most important customers were Saudi Arabia, Nigaria and Iran, followed by Libya, Algeria and

These impressiva figures for foreign ordars should not make us forget the whole plcture. The orders have certainly increased rapidly, but they still only represent 4 per cent of the total volume of the German building industry.

Clearly, though, these orders are Important to tha big building firms. The vast majority of these orders are carried out a faw dozeni German firms. Last year 70 out of a total of 3,000. German construction firms got orders from abroad. And of thase 70, the giants ware way in front of all the others.

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If we look at the example of the Hochtief AG, we can see how much foreign orders mean to them.

At the end of 1976, a total of 65 per cent of all orders came from abroad. While the number of employees at homa has been sinking steadily in the last few years, tha number on the payroll obroad has risen dramatically - in 1976 alone it rose by two thirds.

Hochtief now has almost as many workers on foreign as on home sites. And among its competitors the picture is such the same.

These foreign orders are not really a solution to the critical situation on the employment front in the building trade. A good 90 per cent of the workars on the foreign sites are local men, as a rule Arabs. At the end of 1976 there were 90.000 native workers on German firms' building sites sbroad as opposed to about 6.500 German workers.

Only the top people - from he engineer to the foreman - come from Germany, And such people are not easy

to come by, it is not everyone's cup of tea to spend several years in these often unwelcoming areas - even if they can bring their families with them.

German firms do averything they possibly can to make life easier for their German workers and their families; from cosy little houses in weli-kept camps to schools for the children.

Wherever you go, whether it is to Bushehr, Abu Dhabi, Jeddah or the Sultanate of Oman, you will find German schools with German teachers paid by the finns. It is even quite likely that there will soon ba German grammar schools "in the desert."

It is a mistake to assume that there sro faw risks involved in foreign business. In fact the risks are considerable.

The Bremen company of Treuhond, for instance, took on an order to build over 5,000 flats in Algeris for 400 million marks. The company had little knowledga of the market and mada a considerable loss.

And the risks are becoming greater. Ona problem is staff. They have to be trained and then almost taught to work at the required pace. Dealings with authorlities in the East are much more complicated and long drawn out thon

### Half of Germany's industrial plant is out-dated

bout a half of German companies' A industrial plant is obsolescent today. In 1960 it was only a third. "This is a worrying sign of increasing obsolescence" says Walter Mohr, president of the Bavarian Employers' Association.

Secretary of State Gruner of Bonn'a Economics Ministry and the Union of German Machine Tooi Factories (VDW) have expressed sumilar coocem recently.

The Union of German Mechanical institutes (VDMA) is critical of the fact that Germany lags behind Japan in this respect.

The question of whether and to what extent a modernisation of plant would mean an increase in the competitivity of German industry is still unresolved. The VDMA does not believe that German firms ara committing "ains of omission." Firms that saw possibilities in a given market, were not slow to invest. :

The spokesman of larga firms make a similar point, observing that the structura change, tha transition to completely new products, forces them to introduce

In particularly important areas of production, the average life of tools and production machinery was getting shorter all tha time. Forty three per cent of all Slemens products, for example, are not more than five years old, and so correspooding changes in machinery also have to be made.

The VDW's observation that Germany is on average four years behind in this area is still valid. It would cost double the annual production - over DM 13,000 million - to modernise plant and machinery and bring it up to the million marks or more than 20,000 mill-

required standard in the metal-working industry.

But the age of the machinery is not the only problem: What about production flow? Is it optimal? What about buildings, transport, storage of materials and finished products, energy supply, telephone and telex networks, Internal post, wastage, snti-pollution measures?

Organisation, sales departments and the internal information system are also sress of infrastructure which have to be looked at. This is where Walter Mohr (board mamber of Siemens AG) sees the chance for a "third way" of investing.

Industry has been vary shy of inveating in plant extensions for some time now. Rationalising investment alone canoot bring about an improvement in the general economic climate and ease the employment situation.

Now that the general level of business activity was low It was time to look at weak spots and sources of errors and gat rid of stop-gaps which had become and the trained permanent.

have to be made antioyclically, because in boom times there was neither time nor money,

Good, closely calculated prices, favou-rable, financing opportunities, and fast delivery dales would all make modernisation easier in times of recession.

In 1976 German industrial companies invested about DM36.000 million. If another is per cent of this could be used for improvements in firms' infrastructure, this would mean a yearly investment volume of more than 5.400

they are here, and one cannot slways rely on decisions made.

Another risk is that the ordera, which in some cases are worth billions of marks, are for periods of several years. A lot can happen in this time. For instance prices can rocket.

This is disastrous in view of tha fact that thesa ordars are in the currency of the country concerned. Only a few years ago, deutschmark contracts were the

And as a rule, foroign buainess partners nre not prepared to allow for these upward price adjustments. To compansate for this possibility, German companies insist on pre-payments as high as possible.

The orders are also insured through the Hermes company. They take on the political and the considerable economic risk in exchange for o percentage of profits

It is difficult to say whether the boom in foreign business will last. Kurt. Hecker, spokesman for the Holzmann board, does not belive that the Opee countries will go on building at the present rate.

There will be fewer building contracts to tender for because building budgets sre being cut in the oll countires. Herr Hecker odds that "international competition, particulorly from Asia, Is hotting up oll the time."

The Koreans, the Taiwanese, Japanese and the Indians are beginning to penetrate the market with their cheaper rates. It is a morket that they still consider weti worth operating in. Peter Haas

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 6 August 1977)

lion marks in four years. Together with the 16,000 million marks for public infrastructure improvements this would be s considerable impetus for the whole economy and for the labour market.

As many firms are not in a position to provide investment finonce themselves, the state should step into the breach and help out, as it does in the case of the renovation of old buildings. Possible forms this atate sid could take: pramiums, higher write-off values, credits and tax-relief.

Walter Mohr's suggestions aim ot improving the economic situation by means of improvements in company infrastructure, even though tha Garman market is not a good sales market at the

A better industrial infrastructure is also an end in itself, because Japan, Germany's strongest competitor after the USA, has an excellent atandard in this field, as a VDMA spokesman stressed.

In Jspan thay were increasingly producing their own machine tools and were far less depandent on imports than they had been in previous years. This would lead to an increased export drive, the affects of which Europe would rapidly feel.

-It is not so much Japan's modern industrial equipment that Garman industrial circles fear as state assiatance and export aid. In many cases Japanese prices were higher at home than on export lists, but it was difficult to prove this except in a few individual cases.

Classical dumping and practised by European and American firms was easy to pinpoint, but in Japan industry, trading-houses, banks, insurances and sometimes even the state, formed a con-

In Japan the average age of management was considerably higher, decisions often took longer and it was not always clear who was responsible for what area. Continued on page 8

#### ENERGY

### 145 minor mishaps at nuclear power plants in 12 years, Bonn report notes

Many people wonder — as well they might — just how safe nuclear power stations in this country are. Thirteen of them with a combined installed capacity of 6,400 megawatts are already in operation.

Government energy plana provide for the inauguration of a further fifteen 1,200-megawatt power reactors by 1985, and even though this target is unlikely to be achieved, safety precautions assume increasing importance.

Whatever the pace of development, atomic energy is sure to play a larger part in our lives than in the past, and the risk of 8 nuclear mishap increases proportionately.

Large nuclear power stallons use up to forty tons of enriched uranlum as fuel. What is more, during fission ali manner of radioactive matter la produced that would contaminate the atmosphere if the reactor were to spring a leak.

Reactor construction and design incorporate every conceivable precaution in order to ensure that nothing unforeseen can possibly happen and to ensure, in particular, that radioactive particles are not released into the atmosphere.

But no one can give a copper-bottomed guarantee that a mishap will never happen. Minor mishaps have, indeed, occurred at regular intervals in existing installations over the years.

The Bonn government's recently-published 450-paga "atoms for peace" report notes no fewer than 145 incidents at nuclear power stations in this country between 1965 and last April.

They included damage to fuel clements and the cooling system, to reactor controla and measuring equipment, and accidents that have occurred during construction and maintenance.

There has yet to be an incldent so serious that it can no longer be brought under control, not even the fatal accident at Grundremmingen nuclear power station on 19 November 1975.

What happened at Grundremmingen was that s mechanic who was replacing a valve forgot that the pipe was still under pressure and was killed by hot steam, which just happened to be slightly radioactive.

So the solltary fatality in the catalogue of nuclesr mishaps at power atationa in this country was not, strictly apeaking, due to contamination and a radioactive leak.

Closer scrutiny of the catalogue indicates that project engineers and technologists have grown increasingly conversant with their subject over the years.

#### Continued from page 7

German firms say that "modern machines alone are not all that counta in business."

They cousider that they would have excellent salling chances in the Japanese home market.

Eberhard von Kuenheim, head of BMW, recently paid the Japanese s back-handed compliment with which many German companies will agree: "The Japanese sre past masters in the art of preventing car imports by all sorts of hidden obstacles."

Michael Spiesshofer (Münchner Merkur, 9 August 1977) Trankfurter Rundschau

Incidents occur far less frequently than they used to do.

There have, for instance, been nearly 100 mishaps at experimental and pilot projects auch as tha nuclear power stations at Kahl and Karlsruhe, Grundremmingen, Obrigheim and Lingen.

Larger and more advanced installations have — in comparison — aeldom been shut down for repairs.

What is more, hairlina cracks developed in the welding seams of early fuel clemenis. Occasional minute leaks of fissile matorial resulted. The report lists ninetcen such instances between 1965 and 1976.

These faults were not, as a rule, located until fuel elements were scheduled for replacement, but replacement solved the problem.

Defective fuel roda hava yet to be observed at nuclear power stationa built at a later date, so this particular lesson has evidently been learnt.

Improvements have been made in the materials used to manufacture fuel rod alicaths. What is more, welding techniques have also been improved, so that hairline rifts no longer occur as a rule.

Last but not least, welding seams are checked with particular care before the rods are taken into service.

At all events fuel elements now seem better able to withstand the relatively high pressure that accumulates within during operation. They are aimilarly impervious to high temperatures and neutron bombardment.

Another kind of misliap may also be rated a teething trouble or infantile disorder, although again, strictly speaking, it has nothing to do with nuclear technology.

Turbine damage, particularly at Gundremmingen on the Danube, has frequently laid nuclear power stations low. On at least three occasions a turbine blade has snapped and damaged other blades at Gundremmingen.

Repairs have proved far from easy and often necessitated ahutting down the entire power atation for weeks.

This damage occurred becausa the operating companies had opted for a wet steam turbine, a design that waa popular in the twenties, but subsequently abandoned on account of technical hitches that were mainly associated with water processing.

Now that nuclear technology called for larger turbines operators reverted to the old technique even though a differant turbina design has since grown customary at coal-fired power stations.

During a routine check at Würgassen nuclear power station on 10 February 1974 the turbine ahaft was found to be so badly damaged that the power station was shul down for roughly a year for repairs.

This was a failure that should never have occurred in the first place, but, again, it belongs to the category of possibillies that never can be entirely precluded.

Further examination of the listed

mlahaps reveals that in the final analysis minor faults can occur almost anywhere in a nuclear power station.

At the multi-purpose experimental reactor in Karlsruhe the pumps once went On strike. At Obrigheim oacillation Occurred in the hest ahield, but suitable support was incorporated in the atruc-

ture just before the reactor went critical. At Lingen a number of control rods stuck on 4 May 1970. At Gundremmingen the wrong valve was opened at the end of August 1969, with the result that twenty tons of water escaped from the fuel rod basin into the overflow room. The Gundremmingen mishaps was

the result of human error. Fortunately it dld not result in leakage of radioactivity.

Now and then, however, amall quantities of radioactive particles have been released. In July 1973 a higher than permissible leval of radioactiva tritium was released into the atmosphere from the pebblebed reactor at Jülich.

A tritium adsorber was installed to ensure that safety levels were maintained.

At Obrighelm rodioactive xenon was once pumped out with the effluent. This too was the result of a mistake, and precautions are now taken to ensure that it will never happen again.

Thus an analysis of mishaps at nuclear power atations in this country demonstrates that minor technical liltclies can happen no matter how careful all concerned may be. But repercussions can be kept to within the reactor shell.

Precautions have certainly been taken to ensure that the reactor is automatically switched off as soon as the slightest irregularity is registered. So, as far as can humanly be foreseen, serious repercussions cannot occur.

Major mishaps that assume catastrophe proportions would appear, on the strength of operational experience so far, to be as improbable as a direct hit by a fully-laden junubo jet on a full house at the Olympic stadium in Munich.

But human fallibility is a factor that must always be borne in mind. It has resulted not only in the sole fatality so far, but also in a number of other mishaps. Nuclear power station engineers and technicians have yet to prevent them a ensure that the consequences are kept to a minimum, but in many cases safe guards definitely can be incorporated.

In July 1969, for instance, privste ladividuala (they were not even power station staff) inadvertently conlaminsted their own homes after a visit to Guadremmingen. Care has since been taken to ensura that this surveillance lapse cannot occur again.

A number of mishaps have also occurred during construction or operational triala. At Neckarwestheim, for inatance, insulation material was set alight in a blaze caused by sparks flying during welding. At Blblis cracks were found to have occurred in structural steel.

These, of course, are mishaps of ly kind that can happen on any construction site, but when nuclear power size tions are under construction special car is essential.

The repercussions of some amall blace or crack in some component or other may subsequently prejudice safety precautions for the nuclear power station as a whole.

So greater attention is now paid to incidents that occur in the course of construction, and in a number of cases design improvements and alterations to power atations under construction have been undertaken as a result.

Despite all precautions, then, mishap can occur at nuclear power stationa for variety of reasons. Regrettable though this may be, it is most unlikely that a full-scale emergency would ever need to be declared.

The 450-page report testifies to experience over the past dozen or so years at thirteen nuclear power stations, some of which have been generating electric power for years without giving seders cause for alarm.

Even upsets that might conceivably lead to more extensive damaga have been seen to preaent no trouble to a combination of effective safety precations and experienced power station staff.

So far, for instance, neither power station staff nor members of the general public hava come to harm as a result of an overdose of radiation.

So precautions have proved their worth, but we must not allow ourselven to be lulled into a false sense of securty. Nuclear power stations must continue to be built and run with the utmosi care. Konrad Müller-Christiansen (Frankfurter Rundschau, 6 August 1978

### Forecasts of energy needs vary widely

Horecasts of future energy requirements have proved extremaly unreliable in recent years, according to a survey conducted by Applied Systems Analysis (ASA), a project aponsored by a consortium of major research centres all over the country.

Sixteen forecasts of future demand for electric power have been analysed. They have all been published since 197i, but the conclusions reached differ to auch an extent that pollticians may be excused for feeling none the wiser.

For the turn of the century estimates of the demand for primary energy range from 600 million to 900 million tona of coal equivalent.

Estimates of demand for the individuai fuels or energy sources vary evan more widely, isading ASA in its annual report to the conclusion that lobby interests seem almost certainly to have influenced the various forecasts.

Many forecasts tend to undarestimate tha saturation factor. There has never been even a steady, let alone ateadily increasing upturn in damand for any of the various fuels or sources of primary energy.

On the basis of trends over the past 25 years, ASA concludes, consumption in all cases cannot be far short of s saturation point.

The oil crisis in autumn 1973 was not, as is frequently claimed, instrumental in bringing about a slowar growth rata in the consumption of oil and natural gas. For some time thare had already been indications that consumption of both was nearing saturation point. dpa

(Frankfütter Allgemeine Zellun für Deutschland, 3 August, 1977)



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#### 21 August 1977 - No. 801

### R PEOPLE Philosopher Ernst Bloch dies at 92

Röhner Chaff Anzener

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E mat Bloch, whose philosophical motto was: "there is only one fruitful form of memory - remembering what still has to be done," is dead. He dicd of heort failure in Tubingen on A August, ot the ege of 92. Right up to the last he was working on e new book.

Throughout his life, Ernat Bloch was e profound thinker. Not only in the sense that his way of writing and thinking was not immediately accessible and comprehensible: It was also very difficult to pin hlm down, to put him in e ssfe category end have done with him.

Martin Welser said of hlm, while he was still in the German Democratic Repubilc: "He is a horetle through and through!" He remained a heretic to the end of his life.

Ernst Bloch was born in Ludwigshafen in 1885, the son of a Jewish official. He became interested in philosophy as a

He read through Hegel, Schelling and Fichte in the Mannheim Schiossbibliothek and wrota lus first philosophical essay, entitled "Des Weltall im Lichte des Atheismus" (Tha Cosmos in the Light of Atheiam) at the age of 13. At the age of 17, he wrote the treatise "Dle Kraft und ihr Wesen", (The Life Force and its Condition) which contained the germ of his leter philosophy of utopia.

After his etudles (philosophy, physics and music), Bloch took his doctorate ond went to Berlin, where he became a friend of Georg Lukacs. After that, he lived in Heidelberg as a writer and ioumalist.

In 1933, he was forced to leave Germany. The Nezis hed put him on the index for "expressing his contempt for the Third Reich." After stays in Switzerlend, France and Czechoslovakia, he went to the USA in 1938. There he did most of the preparatory work on 'Prinzip Hoffnung." (The Principle - Hope).

In 1949 Bloch took up the professorship of philosophy et Leipzig. He had turned down a similar post at Frankfurt am Main university on the grounds that he "did not want to serve capitalism." .

He was in the Federal Republic of Germany on a lecture tour when the Berlin wall was built in 1961. He did not return, because, as he wrote in e letter to the East Berlin Academy of Sciences, "there is no room left for independent thinkers to live and work." After that he was guest professor at the university of Tübingen.

The central theme of Blocb's philosophy of utopia is thet this world is not yet complete, finished. He was one of the first philosophers to take the category of possibility seriously.

fn other words he believed thet reality os it is could only be adequately judged when one considered the letent potentialities within it and activated them. 8"-Mankind has this activating function in the process of history.

The goal of this process is a classicss socicly in which materialism and allenation have disappeared. In pursuing this eim, Blooh was a marxist. However, he denied thet this state could be achieved autometically as result of objective laws.

This made him highly suspect in the eyes of the powers that be in East Germany, who had begun by fêting him as their star philosopher. His stence on the nisings in Poland and Hungary led to him being deprived of his professorship ln 1957.

Bioch became increasingly disappoint-ed that the "socielist" state which he had advocated throughout his lifa was not prepered to allow man (the "subjec-tive factor" in history) more freedom to shape his own future.

The fact that Bloch eventually returned to the Federal Republic of Germeny cannot be interpreted as a "return homo," His concaption of creative marx-Ism (with Marx beyond Marx) has nowhere been realised.

The petty form of cultural politics prectised in East Gennany must have especially saddened e man who attached such great importance to the role of art. His "Geist der Utople" (Spirit of Utopia), written in 1918, is to e large extent music philosophy, and the "theory of aesthetic eppearances" plays a decisive part in "Das Prinzip Hoffnung."

Art plays such an important pert in lus philosophy because in art we find Intimations of e fully realised world and this shows us what humanity is capable of ochieving in the real world.

Bloch is no abstract aesthete, though: "Fine feeling and appreciation of the beautiful leads nowhera. It remains within, it cannot get out, it is not communicated.

There is a way out, and this is the shaping of the future by man. This is what makes Bloch one of the most important representatives of a kind of which does not conalst in mechanically serving up legitimations of power.

His philosophy goes beyond Merkism. Beyond the practical, political aim of the classless society, Bloch formuletes, as the object of history, identity between man and nature. This can attil only be described in mystical categories. Bloch's thinking often leaps beyond the category of practical reason.

Bloch was a master of the ert of making everyday consciousness the object of philosophy. The atarting point of his thinking is so often the "little day-

Continued on page 11



Petar Walss' Webstuhl (Weaver's loom) (Photo; Katalog)



Ernst Bloch

(Photo: Sven Singel

### Exhibition of Peter Weiss' works in Munich

We have a Swedish cultural official to thank for the exhibition et the Munich Lenbachheus of works by Peter Weiss, the German dramatist now living in Sweden. Per Drougge from the industrial town of Södertälje wanted to find out for himself obout the world famous outhor's twofold talent for painting and writing.

When he visisted him in Stockholm, he found "plica of places of paper and rolled-up oil paintings that looked the worse for wear," He had them ell carefully restored and catalogued and has now brought together 120 exhibits. There are also 30 early drawings from the Friedrich private collection in Mu-

In his first books in the fiftles we find the description of an individual who produces pictures and analyses his own artistic development: and the pictures described in these books really exist! The "Atelierzimmer" (Studio) (Prague 1937), which is described in "Abschied von en Eltern" (Goodbye to my Parenta) as meticulously as It was painted. Or the works from his ecademy days which we find described in "Flucht" (Escape).

Speaking in Munich, Peter Welss sayo that "the time came when painting was not enough. Writing wes simply mora dynamic

But he elways considered himself es e painter who did some writing. When his writing provided him with a livelihood and fame, he was amazed.

Weiss's works range from: the deligi tely drawn miniature water-colour from Montagnola, where Hermann Hesse took in the unknown refugee to the oil painting "Jahrmarkt am Stadtrand", which depicts over a hundred figures.

.. His magical realism in earthy colour aometimes gives way to mannerism



(with Brueghel, Bosch and Arcimbold es models in the beckground.)

Weiss now only does collages, like Max Ernst. The meterial, newspaper cultings, photographs end illustrations, i put together to form a complicated, sometimes symbolic, sometimes comical whole.

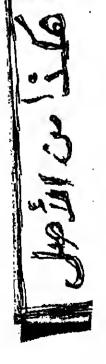
One of the few commissions which Peter Weiss received es en artist from ! Swedish publisher for a series of colleges to "A Thousand and One Nights." The pictures he produced were humourously and charmingly erotic. Weiss is a mester of a number

techniques, he is well yersed in his age which, by association, he shows in hit montages. He analyses himself (a num ber of salf-portraits) and his time (in an almost journalistic light) with coosider able psychological discernment.

But he also venture into the depth of the dream world and the uncons clous: all elements which recur inlus novels end plays. In his flight through four countries he has attempted, through out his almost sixty years to get hold of the inner and

sixty years, to get hold of the inner and of the outer world, A fasoinating artist and, If I may say so, an interesting man Annerose Katz

(Stulisarier Nachrichien, 4 August 1977)



RR

### PUBLISHING

No. 801 - 21 August 1977

### Literary magazines find that surviving is a gamble

when listening to the booksellers of the "Zweitausendelns Versand," With considerable literary flair end a cut price' policy they have been exploiting gaps in, the bookaelling market. The pece-setters' on their sales lists are reprints of the entire yearly output of magazines.

They have reprinted 20 years of "Akzente", which is still Gennany's leading literary magazine, in a seven-volume edition with over 12,000 pages. The first twenty "Kursbuch" magazines heve come out in a two volume edition.

The faunder of the "Kursbuch", Hens Magnus Ezensberger does not want the size of the edition to be made public, so as nat to annoy booksellers who have been left out of the deal.

The "Zweitausendelns" bit of the autumn will be Karl Krous's famous "Fackel" (Torch). All 922 numbers, which appeared between 1899 end 1936. will be coming out in twelve volumes, with 24,500 pages at the incredibly low price of DM148. Planned size of the edition: 10.000.

Springtune far magazines? When yan look into it mare closely, it is more of a autunin of nostalgio. The most convincing of the achemes already mentioned is certainly the ettempt to bring out a cheap version of "Fackel", which has long been recognised es a historical dacument of the first order.

In the case of "Akzenie" and the "Kursbuch", both of which are still being published, this attempt at giving them monumental status scems premature and even slightly unnetural.

Magazines are admittedly not written for the day of issue, but nonetheless contemporary relevance is necessary If they are to have any intellectual impact or critical function. The reprints are mainly of historical interest, or else they are simply aiming to provide reputable and impressive volumes with which to fill gaps on the bookshelves.

The "Akzente" editors were rather saddened by the discrepancy between the reprint edition of 50,000 and current magazine sales of 6,500. The advertising effect of the reprint was ndiculously low. There were arder forms for subscriptiona to "Akzente" in every copy of

#### Continued from page 10

dream", the subconscious or "not yet conscious" arsenal of utopia,

His language continually urges us to take nathing for granted, not to accept what is "understood" and not to write off the apparently banal.

"I am, but I have not taken possession of myself, Wa still have to becomo." - "Everyone is alone with himself. And most are alone with others. We have to get out of both."

Such sentences laconically describe. the first uncertain movements of thought, the consciousness of a aituation which has become suddenly strange."

It will not alwaya remain so. There will be e world in which nothing is strange, in which men feel et homa? This is the "ceterum censed" of a philosophy which Bloch understood ond wished others to understand as e practical, political one. Peter Zudeick (Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, S'August 1977)

Spring is here for culture magazines. the reprint, but not even 100 of the This is the impression one gets 50,000 took edvantage of the offer.

On the other hand, looking for successful magazine publishers is like looking for e needle in e haystack. Compared with book publishing, which is itself a risky and unpredictable business dasplta markat research and concern strategles, magazine publishing is e real gamble.

Tha question of what constitutes the success or otherwise of a magazine poses e number of problems. Longevity alone is certainly not the criterion.

The legendary "Ruf" edited by Alfred Andersch and Hons Wemer Richter, only lasted two years from 1946 to 1947, but for a disilluslancd ond intellactually starved generation it was tremendously important. It provided sobcr analyses and political and cultural madels for the future.

The magazine "Universitas", founded in the same year and still being printed 32 years later, has never had onything like the same impact, its solidarity seems to consist mainly in the fact that it meticulously lists all the degrees and academic titles of its contributors.

The total readership of a magazine is alsa no indication of its importance or effect, "Westermann's Monatsliefte" purports to be a cultural magazine for the entire family and this has a considerable publicity effect, but they are alsorans in the fields, Intellectuals can only sinile sadly when they hear the magazine mentioned.

When, on the other hand, Joachim Günther, editor of the "Ncue Deutsche Hefte" says that "the better a magazine is the more difficult it is to sell," this can only be considered a bon mot.

His own magazine was so difficult to sell that the Bertelsmann concern, to which it once belonged, was not prepared to carry the losses It made and dropped it. Günther now publishes it without outside aid: estimated total sale: 2.000

Well-to-do publishing houses are not always the best financers and supporters of cultural magazines, as the "Frankfurter Hefte" found out to their cost.

After the war they hed giddy sales totals of 80,000, which would heve been even higher if the occupying forces had not limited their peper rations. Aftert he currency reform there was e

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steep fall-off in sales. A few years ago they were almost at death's door when the Luchterhand Vcdag stopped subsidising them.

The editors Walter Dirks and Engen Kogon decided to go independent ond take the risk of founding their own publishing house. And so the magazine lives on "poor, but honest." Totul sales: about 5.000.

When you ask Hubert Habicht, editor and co-publisher, haw high their deficit is, he unswers trimmphantly; nil.

The monthly editions still put them in the red, but he difference is made up by separately edited special supplements dealing with special topics. ("Youth', 1975; "Federal Republic of Germany," 1976, "The World of Work," 1977.)

With sales of 25,000 for these supplements, they arrive at the surplus necessary to cover their deficit.

Such well balanced books are the exception rather than the nile with culture magazines.

The oldest of them all, the "Neue Rundschau" which has been in existence for 88 years and is edited by the conservative Golo Mann, presents the S. Fischer Verlag with e 120.000 mark deficit. And even the left-wing "Kürbiskern"

("Literature, Criticism and Class-strugge,"), cannot finence Itself, despite sales between 8,000 and 10,000. Only the "Kursbucb" leads e carefree

life. Originally published by Suhrkamp, it then went to Wagenbach, and lias now got e contract with the Rotbuch Verleg. Editor Ingrid Karsunke assured

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me that the menazine had never needed to take up e single penny of credit.

The "Kursbuch" does not offer a wide political and cultural kaleidoscope in each issue. Its producers were quick to spot the advantage of concentrating on a subject or subject area in each issue.

The subjects chosen were so controversial and relevant, so thoroughly researched and originally written, that they were guaranteed to appeal to a fairly wide readership.

Today, 45,000 copies of each quarterly issue are printed in the first edition. The absolute hit was the issue before last: "Frauen" (Women); 80,000 copies were printed and almost all have been sold.

The "Kursbuch", which started in 1965, would hardly have hed such a brilliant start If Ilans Magnus Enzensberger had not been its founder and editor.

Just os "Les Temps Modernes" in France still benefits from the world-wide renown and tireless commitment of its director Jean Paul Sartre, so the most recent and most important publication on the German magazine market, "L 76", the fourth issue of which has appeared, would hardly have reached sales of 10,000 if Heinrich Böll and Gunter Grass (along with Cerola Stern) had not been editors.

Apart from the pull of big names, It seema to be a fact that magazines with a left-wing trend such as "Kursbuch", "L 76", "Kürbiskem", "al-ternative", "Argument", and "Neues Forum" in Austria seem to attract more readers than the others, which are more bourgeois, liberai or conservative.

This is probably due to the fact that there is a continued demand and need for left-wing writing, as well es the fact that the attidents of '67 and '68 remain loyal to "their" magazines.

Perhaps the most unusual magazine of all is the "Bargfelder Bote", named after Arno Schmldt's home on the Luneburg heath.

The magazine is edited by Jörg Drews now professor in Bielefeld. It was started up after the publication of Schmidt's opus megnum "Zettel's Traum" (Zettel's Dreath) and has one subject only, but an Inexheustible one: 'the work 'of Amo Schmidt, which is interpreted bere with obsessive thoroughness, fine for line.

"The work appears quarterly, and 1,500 copies are printed: 1,100 Schmidt lans, who ere mostly also contributors have subscribed to the megazine, which gets by without a penny of subsidy.

Hans Joschim Schyle (Köler Stadt-Anzeiger, 2-August 1977)

#### EDUCATION

12

## Career advisers in a quandary over graduates' job chances in law and medicine

More than 20,000 university gradu-ates are already registered as unemployed, and spokesmen for the medical and legal professions point out that this figure fails well short of the actual

Many professional men feel they cannot risk the stigma attached to tha doie, while others have given up the struggle to oarn a living and taken up alternetive employmant.

So the true figure for unemployed graduates is probably far higher. Erich Frister, general secretary of GEW, that cducational and sciantific trades union, reckona at least 20,000 teachers are on the verge of redundancy.

Yet university expansion programmes are still going ahead to caler at inordinate expense for what may well be a non-existent denisnd.

How many graduates is society going lo need in the years to come? There are few subjects on which views differ so wildly. Doctors and lawyers claim there is a serious glut in their professions, yat labour exchanges still reckon there is going to be a shortage of both.

A bright teenager who has recently passed his Abitur, or higher school certificate, at Bonn's Konrad-Adensuer-Gymnasium aaked the careers adviser at his local labour exchange what, on the face of it, ought lo be a straightforward question

"I abouid like to study for a law degree, but what with all the talk about a glul of lawyers 1 feel f ought to ask you what the true position la. Would you advise me against reading law at universitv?'

Thia simple query put careers adviser Dr Wagner on the spot. "As a matter of principte we never recommend anyone to steer clear of a particular trade or profession at all cost. Maybe they have the makings of really successful lawyer, in which case they will make the grade whatever lhe situation is."

But facia, figures and forecasts are available to suit all tastes. According to one estimate there will be a shortage of between 7,000 and 14,000 law graduates in 1980.

Stata Miniaters of Justice, on the other hand, are on record as estimating that the annual output of university law faculties is twice as high as the number actually required.

Bemd Oellers, businesa manager of the Lawyers Association in Bonn, is even more emphatic. "It is irresponsible to talk in terms of a forthcoming glut of lawyers," he says. "There already is s glui."

Views and estimates vary in equal measure in respect of other professions that have traditionally been the preserve of university graduates.

"Whenever we sound a warning note the response is invariably: 'They are just out to feather their nests and keep competition at bay," says Klaua Gehb of the Medical Council in Cologne, who is reaponsible for estimating future manpower demand in the medical profession.

"We have simply given up pointing oul that there will soon be a mounting surplus of trained doctors," he adds. On being shown a copy of the latest statistics used by careers advisers and published lasl May, Gehb juat shakes his head and shrugs his shoulders.

According to these figures the annual demand for graduates in medicina and pharmacy amounts to between i0,000 and 12,000. In order to reach this figure an annual university intaka of between 15,400 and 18,500 is deemed necessary.

In other words, university places for a further 4,000 students of medicina and pharmacy are still needed, and there will be a shortage of between 40,000 and 60,000 doctors and pharmacists until well into the nineties.

So it would seem only fair to assume that good money can still be earned in the medical profession.

Klaus Gehb has an entirely different tale to tell. "The universities are already producing twice as many doctors as we. need. It would make sound sense to halve the annual intaka to, say, 5,800, but we would be howied down for aven venturing to suggest tha ides."

Already 1,315 doctors are registered as unemployed, and no one feels able even to hazard a guess as to the number of doctors who have not signed on that dole, preferring instead to enlist temporarily as sales representatives for pharmaceuticala manufacturers.

"Our forecasts may even err on the optimistic side," Gehb claims. "They could be in need of revision in the wake of measures to cut costs in the health aervice. A large number of hospitals are already pruning staff,"

Klaus Gehb takes a dim view of the

S has for some years been an enthu-

siastic supporter of bids to make the

school curriculum more humana and

less geared to achievement, performance

As president of the Arts Association

Hajek welcomes each and every oppor-

tunity of criticising educational planners

and politicians in Bonn, tha states and

He is scathing in his criticism of edu-

"When curriculs are pruned because

omeone bas realised that there are

limits to the strains that can be imposed

on children, tha cuts are made on the

arts rather than the science side," he

"Art, music and sport are the first to

be axed. What we want is equal status

for the arts and the sciences," Hajek

In a commantary on figures that have

revealed for tha first tima the true

extent of the nationwida shortfall in arts

classes Hajek notes that "tha content of

schooling in this country is geared solely

to career requirements, with education

being regarded as exclusively utilitarian

thing to parsonal experience what he is

talking about when he condemns schoo-

In the same way as we have exploited

our environment for the past century,"

he argues, "we will be ruining not only

cational targets geared exclusively to

and output.

local authorities

complains.

demands

in purpose."

profit considerations.

argumant that a surplus of madical graduates ought to aid tha survival of the fittest and best-qualified and so improve the quality of medical services.

"With medical school intake at its present level," he notes, "thare will not be enough jobs going as hospital housenien, with the result that by tha mtdeighties graduates will have no option, but to embark on general practice inimediately on going down from universi-

"I leave it to you to decide whether or not general practitioners' qualifications are going to improva as a result."

In a number of professions even the statistics on which careers advisers at employment exchanges basa their advice indicate that supply will exceed demand.

From 1985 on there will be a surplus of engineers and architects. By 1980 there will be 10,000 to 16,000 cbemists, physicists and mathematicisns too many. As for the teaching profession, by 1980 there will ba at least 60,000 qualified graduates too many - and maybe as many as 110,000.

Mind you, this surplus could soon be reduced if classes were made smaller, which only goes to show that forecasts are uncertain at the best of times. Demand is dependent on ao many factors, both political and economic.

If the politicians were to resolve to make classes smaller as a matter of priority, they could provide jobs for each

#### Call to give greater emphasis to the arts in schools

air, water and woodland, but also our children and our very future."

Hajek feels it is deplorable that parents do not object to current educational objectives. Indeed, they seem ali in fsyour of them.

"Children with the best grades will later earn most money. That," he says, "is what many parents seem to think. How else is one to account for the fact that they go to parent-tescher meetings calling for greater emphasis on the science side and less on the arts? "

Hsjek does not attribute this state of affairs solely to competition for university places. "The generation that is now in mmand went to achool in the thirties; when creativity was not in demand.

"Thay represent an entire generation that lacks any grounding in the arts. They were the generation that did not object to art education being ideologised in the sixties and stripped of creativity."

Hajek hits out hard at art teaching at school. "Many teachers regard art lessons As the father of five children Otto as a matter of mere sociology and social Herbert Hajek knows from the next best criticism. They are failing utterly at their

"Handicrafts are no longer practised: iing "which is carcer-orientated from an Pupils are required to do verbal work carly stage, pumping children full of in- only. Art teachers would sooner exformstion rather than educating them to change views with sociologists than with artists. Hajek is soon incensed. "Unless we

"There are even qualified art teachers without aver going near eithar a paintbrush or a jump of clay."

As s result, Hajek claims, artists and

and every unemployed teacher at one fell swoop — always assuming cash i available to pay the teachers' salaries,

At present 2,028 members of the inching profession are registered as inemployed, but Erich Frister, general ser retary of GEW, the educational and scientific trades union, reckons the ine figure is nearer 6,000, with at least a futher 20,000 on the brink of redundancy,

The demand for law gradustes, its majority of whom have traditionally a tered the civil service, is similarly a moot point

The Federal Labour Office in Nurem. berg bases its calculations on the asumption that in 1980 there will be shortage of between 7,000 and i400 law graduates. "Supply will not de levet with demand until tha late det

This view is not shared by the North Rhine-Westphalian Labour Office is Düsseldorf, which has issued a press release based on a survey of employment prospects for economists, lawyers and sociologists from 1961 till 1990.

"Demand for law graduates will have doubted by 1990, with a shortage continuing until the early eighties." Yet the Justice Ministers of the states anticipate a surplus of between 13,000 and 21,000 law graduates between 1980 and 1985.

Between 1970 and 1976 the annual student intake at lsw faculties has increased from 6,566 to 12,000. Local authorities are now only hiring graduals with first-class degrees.

The remainder have no option but to try their luck as solicitors. Between 1964 and the end of last year the number d registered solicitors increased from 19,795 to 31,167, including an increase of 2,460

in 1976 alone. Horst Zimmermann

(Münchner Merkur, 4 August 1977)

art teachers are often at daggers draw rather than engaged in profitable cooperation. Art teachers in Baden-Württemberg, for instance, tried to sabotage 1 pilot project sponsored by the Bona Education Ministry with a view to confronting pupils with practising artists.

"The teachers objected on constitutional grounds, arguing that pupils had a nght to be taught by people who had at least their qualifications," Hajek scomfully explains.

"But not every artist can lay claim to university entranca qualifications, let alone a degree."

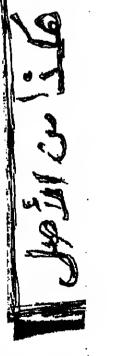
Politiciana would not object to experimants along these lines, Hsjek says, and he should know, having discussed the proposal with Education Minister and local government officials.

"But Ministerial bureaucracy is too powerfui and inflexible. A Minister may favour an Idea, but his civil servants and sure to raisa objections. It is the civil servants who exarciae real power not days, not the politicians."

Yet Hajek and his associates have achieved a number of successes, Art now ranks aqual in importance with other subjacta on tha curriculum at primary schools in Baden-Württemberg

Consideration is even being given to assigning actors, mansgers, musiciant, painters and sculptors in lessons. Hajek does not doubt for a moment that artists would be happy to lend a hand, but there are limits,

"It is not the responsibility of the Arts Association," he says, "to draw up practicable teaching schadules. We can stop exploiting our intellectual resources who have attained their qualificationa on the basis of our own experience. sounding a warning note when anything goes wrong." Renste Faerber .... (Frankfurier, Rundschau, 4 August 1971).



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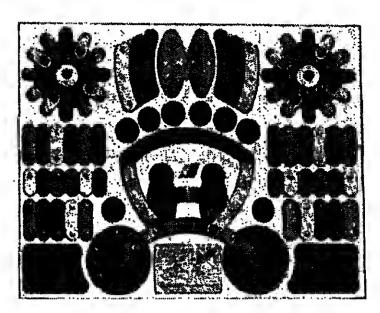
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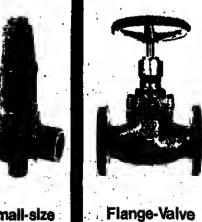


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### OUR WORLD It's a lonely life on the political treadmill in Bonn

Alluchner Merkur

14

What does SPD MP Dieter Latt-mann, 51, do when ha is sick and tired of the polltical treadmill in Bonn? He has his own special remedy. He takes a bottle of wine to bed with him duting the day and drinks it down to the last drop.

This is one politician's attempt to break out of the relentless dally rhythm of stress, pressure, ona appointment after another, too much work and too little sleep, pressure to succeed ond ficree competition.

Chaucallor Heimut Schmidt has described politics in Bonn as a "murderous business", A business that can lead to circulatory collapse and stomach troubles For many, too, the consequences are fatal. One in twelve MPa dies during his term of office. It is also 'a businass which damagaa the aoul. Politicians lead ioncly lives.

Dictor Lattmann's book "Dio Einsamkcit des Politikers" (Tha Loncliness of the Politician) was published recently. In it, he describes how politicians' work teaves them no timo for e private life, how it turns them into "emotional cripples." Of his own experience he saya: "I simply cannot lead a personal, privata life."

This is hardly surprising when ona looks at a typical day in Lattmenn's life, which is similar to that of most MPs; at 6.30 in the moming he gets up in his Godesherg hoarding house, at 7.15 he drives to parliament and at 7.30 he is sitting at his desk.

From then on he just rolls along that parliamentary conveyor belt: reading of draft lawa, parliamentary and committee papers, reading newspapers, making tclephone calta, answering letters from his constituency, receiving groups of visitors, committee and parliamentary alttings. Fourteen to sixteen hours of work e day - this is the "almost monastic" daily round of a politician.

And even when the lights go out in "Langer Eugen", tha MPs' high-rise building, there is atill no peace for the politicians. Very few politicians than follow Latimann's example - he makes a point of retiring into an "extra-polltical area," i.e. "a pub where I know I'm not going to meet any colleagues."

Most of them spend what la left of the evening with their fellow politicians before going back to aportmants or flats which are no more than a place to sleep.

They meet at parties and receptions, stand around cold buffets putting on fat, meet in the clubhouse or the parliamentary society, or in their local pubs, such us the Kessenicher Hof", where the SPD "Kanalarbelter" (navvles) gather. There they are all together. But is there any real contact?

There is something sterile about the hearty companionship between the MPs, according to Lattmonn. There is little contact between members of different parties. ft is virtually en all-male world, with only saven per cent of all MPs wonicn. "There is an atmosphere of old boys' reunions and officers' mess laughter, or else it is like e gathering of egg- flying was even stronger."

hesds or a building workers' canteen in the Antarttc."

In ghettos like this, human contact shrinks to zero point. Financa Miniater Hans Apel said that he felt clasest to the character in the English and French noveia he read in hed at night to keep up his English and French. Often he had "more human contact with these charactara than with his flesh and blood colleagues."

There are few real friendships in the Bonn political arena, Lattmann explains why: "In the power struggla professional paliticions hava learnt to ha ao distrustful and suspicious that they and up heing completely olone." The outlior admitted that he, too, had "no friend, in tha true sensa of tha word, in Bonn."

Even when he has a family, the politician rarely finds time to break through his isolation and solitude and find pesce and rest within the family circle. He is "wedded to power" and there is little room for family lifa even at the weekend.

Dietrich Lattmann often feels "utterly alona" when he returns to his home in Eckarts, in the Allgau, after a diacussion in the evening,

"No one is lonelier than the politician who drives a hundres kilometres and tary salaries.

ufthanse captain Rudolf Braunburg

is "in charge" on DC-10 flights to

Accra, Caracas, Chicago, New York .nd

over the Pole to Tokyo. "But before my

next flight I have to go to Aschaffen-

Rudolf Braunburg does not give his

autograph as a airline pilot, but as a wri-

ter. In the last twenty years he has writ-

ten 33 hooka. "And I wrote three of

them under a woman's pseudonym?"

When I ask him what it was, he says

at the main line station in Frankfurt. To

look at him, you would taka him for a

university professor and not what he is:

Braunhurg was horn in Landsberg on

the Warthe in 1924. His father was a

master locksmith. He wanted to he a

pllot from the age of ten on. By that age

he had already read all the hooks of the

But his father would hear none of it.

You'll be a violinist, you'll always be

abla to cam a bob or two that way. Or a

hoirdresser. People need hairdressers in

Young Braunhurg want along with

what his father said. In the war ha was a

transport and fighter pilot. Than he

trained as a teacher and taught for aeven

He is o passionate believer in the

Steiner method, hy which children have

the same teacher from their first to thair

in 1955 Lufthanisa started up again.

Braunburg enjoyed his teaching and ...

found it hard to leave. "But the pull of

vears in a Rudolf Steiner school.

eighth school years.

good times and bad. Or a teacher. Tea-

We met in the Lufthansa town office

burg to sign autographs."

nothing and just smiles.

KLM pliot Adriaan Viruly.

pilot and writer.

chers get good ne

33 books by a writer with his head

in the clouds

more after an evening meating in his constituency. One moment you are the centre of attention, the next you are totally isolated?

Lattmann, himself married for over 27 years, says that "when he comes home his family are all asleep and do not want to be wokan up ... nobody is going to sit up for ever waiting for aomeona to come back at all hours ... tha best you can hope for when you lead this kind of life is a sort of sailor's marriage."

Tha younger MPs who have to spend the first half year separated from their families, find this "quarantine" very hard to bear and suffer from "a permanently bad conacience" towards thair families. Lattmann's two sons are already grown up, and ha admits that ha would nevar have been able to do his full-time job as a politician if he had had young chil-

Very few politicians have the strength and the courage to jump off the political carousei every now and then. Most of them are such prisoners of their "will to power" that they are hardly capable of taking "creative breaks" as Chancallor Kiesinger once recommended. They also find it almost impossible to establish real relationships with other peopla.

Their lives are often similar to thosa of the Roman emperors - driven on by ambition and restlessness, thay narcissistically seek the approval of the masses, with which they have no real contact. Their atyle of life is not as iuxurious and magnificent as the empetors', deapite the recent increase in parliamenDietar Lattmann (Photo: Sven Since)

Diater Lattmann also bemoans its fact that parliamentariana caught up in tha political mechanisms of Boun has dan and becoma Incapable of deep feelings. "You cannot help getting the inpression with a lot of politicians that they would like to go out and embra the crowds." Yet they are hardly concious of the poverty of their real latepersonal contact.

The author therefore gives his loady and isolated parliamentary colleagues the following advice: "Give all you have get in politics, but do not lose your selves" Dirk Schubert

(Münchner Merkur, 6 August 1977

ies i wrote notes and satires expressing my innar proteat against things, situa-tions and ideologies."

His first "flying book" entitled "Div Himmel näher als der Erde" (Neard Heaven than Earth) was written in his teaching days. When he started flying again, all Braunburg needed to do was make some changes and odd some d his "practical experiences."

Braunburg, who moved from noth Germany to Mainaschaff 14 years aga so that he could be nearer his home sirpoil of Frankfurt, has now produced 33 books in ali, 14 in novel form,

Braunburg says of his complete works to date (including technical, childrens and story books): "About 60 per cent at about flying."

"Gina und die Stratosphäre" (Gin and the Stratosphere) was one of M first books, in which he described its life of pilots, co-pilots, stewardesses and navigators with a lot of humour and self-critical irony.

His laat five novels have had the highest sales: "Zwischeniandun" (Touchdown), "Piratenkura" (Pirais Course), "Monsumgewitter" (Monsol Storm), "Deutschland-Flug", (Flight:off Gormany), "Nachistart" (Night Take-off) are give-away titles: flying is tha main subject hare, too.

He has also writtan a book about wolves called "Der Toter" (The Kille) It is uli of scientific information which he got from his friend Dr Ziemann, # expert on wolves. And what is he captains writing like Tha towns I fly to, the hotels that i know like the back of my hand now stick in my mind like pictures. Some times I auppress them, but they keep coming back and I then write about them. It means I can write very econo mically."

Braunburg is married to a form Continuad on page 15.

Rudolf Braunburg (Photo: Phillop Kerner) He spent his first 15 months as a navigation officer, a regulrement which

was droppad for later generations of ; pliots. He then went on to become a copilot and from 1959 onwards was a captain (in DC-3s, auperconstellations, Convairs; Boeing 727s and DC-10s.) Ha does not conalder his time as nav-

igation officer as wasted. "At least I know something about the weather, and there are not many captains who do."

On the other hand, the west Prussian never showed any interest in taking on a managerial position, "I have 65 flying hours a month on average. With my, writing, I feel that I lead a very full and balanced life."

Braunburg bagan writing as e soldier. "In my war diaries and my student diar-

0 🛷 Q

21 August 1977 - Na. 801



#### SPORT

### Soccer star Paul Breitner back with some new ideas

A few years ago, before he parted ting that the soccer star's leisure reading might ba a well-known pulp hero, Paul lined up alongside Günter Netzer at Real Madrid, soccer star Paul Breitner his tastes were considerably more highwas never at a loss for an answer to reparters' queries.

What dld ha want? A resounding defeat for the United States in Vietnam. What prospact dismayed him most? A Bonn gavernmant headed hy Franz Josaf Strauss.

And now? Paul Breitner still aports his Afro hairstyle, hut what does he think under that mop of curly hair? He is glad to be back, that is for sure.

Breitner feels he has been welcomed back like a prodigal son. "People now take me at face value, as a foothall playcr," he reckons.

No one ever doubted his ability in the playing enclosure. What made him a target for sports reporters was his reputatian as a left-winger, but he is no longer to he persuaded to pase for the phatographers sporting a copy of the Peking Review,

Three seasons in Madrid have been a welcame hlatus, and Paul Breitner is no longer content to resume his old role. "What I want is peace and quiet and sn opportunity to come to temis with my-

He nurtured his negative image even at the staga where it no longer gave him the slightest satisfaction.

But when a reporter asked him what he read in his spare time, neatly insinua-

#### Continued from page 14

stewardess. ("I got to know Anne Marie through my job. She was different from most stewardesses.") He often works on several hooks simultaneously. "At the moment I am working on four hooks on four different typewriters."

One of these books is entitled "Jagd-Geschwader" (Fighter Souadron). "It is on anti-war book that I have been wanting to write for thirty years!

"My favourite book: "Kraniche am Kehne Kalser' (Cranea at Kehna Kaiser) - Kehne Kaiser is the highest mountain in Lapland - waa not about flying at all, but it was a failure."

However, e number of papers and magazines think very highly of Braunburg as a story-teiler, travel-writer, spe-cialiat writer and essayist. Ha will abortly he writing an article in "Geo" on his experiences as a passenger of the trans-Siherian railway.

Rudotf Braunhurg will remain int charge for enother two years. Then he will retire from Lufthansa. And then? "i have seen so much, stored up so many impressions that i will have enough matenial far the rest of my ilfe."

But even when he has retired, Braunburg will have other important interests ..... Mattioli, at 1.73 metres (Sft 8in), was apart from writing.

"When I stop flying, I'll spend tha extra tinje on music (Braunhurg is a jazz fan and playa tenor saxophona clarinet end trumpat) and painting. i might even become a studant again.".

Till then, Rudoif Braunburg leads a full life betwaan technology and creativity - or, as he himsaif puts it, "in a per-" fect interconnection hetween inner and outer world," Jutta W. Thomasius

Breitner felt duty-bound to reply that brow.

"No," he replied, "Karl Marx." And that was that. Ha was typecast. Now he takes care not to he atamped-

ed into any particular corral. Ha professes an open mind and claims to feel he has an enormous backlog to make good in learning what has happened in this country during his absence.

Breitner says he needs to put in some reading and find out what has been going on before he ventures an opinion. And he and the family have moved from Munich to Brunswick, where he is now under contract to Bundesliga club Eintracht.

His wife and children have just mada the move. The children will ha going to kindergarten this autumn. Breituer himself is to resume his university course. Starting "some time in October" he will be a fifth-semester atudent at the department of education.

He docs not anticipate any clash in the time schedules of university and professional saccer, and Breitner is looking forward to university as a counterweight to the physical demands of his football career. "I need the intellectual challenge."

So Paul Breitner remains an unusual specimen among professional soccer players. His new club will find out soon enough where his rough cdges are, if he still has any.

Breitner himself reckons he no longer does. "I om never homesick. I can live anywhere, adapt anywhere and make the best of any situation as far as 1 am concemed."

He does not agree that he is the star that Brunswick has long lacked. "Stars," he says, "are typecast." But he does feel that Brunswick has hidden its light under e bushel for far too long, and Breitner intends to make sure that his new team-mates are given a decent build-up.

"After all," ha says, "you have to be convinced of your product in husiness." Sclf-confidence, he feela, is one of his good points, although ha readily admits that he is quick-tempered and casily provoked.

Ha regards himself as a fanatic for justice and reckons that both Günter Netzer and Paul Breitner were dealt a raw deal by the Press when they left this country and signed for Real Madrid.

He; for instance, was alleged to have given the Spanlards the henefit of his inside knowledge on how to heat the national side for which he had been capped 28 times.

Paul Breitner is atill extremely sensitive about allegations that are tantamount to accusations of high treason. He insists that they are utterly baseless and unfounded

The Spanish hlend of work and living suited him down to tha ground. People In this country make heavy weather of hoth, he reckons. Our daily routina is programined with less regard for free-

As for foothall, Breitner feela he has definitely became a mare occomplished professional than he used to he. Does this, hy any chance, mean that he has designs on a cap for his country in next year's World Cup tournament in Argen-

Paul Breitner is still only 25 and far from convinced that his international career is over. He attachea no importance whatever in this context to his relations with DFB officiats in Frankfurt. As he sees it, he never had any.

"Relations," Breitner says, "arc something personal. What matters are my relations with Herr (national coach Helmut) Schön, with whom I would have to come to terms."

He is keen to huild bridges. "I shall certainly he here in Argentina, whether as a player, a tourist or a journalist. That much I owe my Argentinian friends."

But ha has humt his hridges with Bayem Munich. "I could easily have rejoined my old squad," he points out. Ties with his old club are "strictly business", apart from with Uli Hoeness, who is a personal friend.



Paul Breitna (Photo: Nordbild)

Breituer reckona Bayern lack a truly professional approach to the game. He points out that but for the transfer of Franz Beckenbauer to he New York Cosmos Beyern would have made a losa last season.

Forward defence is his forte, and hc is quick to sense an ettack thet must be pre-empted. Hla piercing gaze turns into glawer.

Poul Breitner is no longer prepared to make a song end dance about a coller and tic, however. In his Bayern days he reckoned to own only one tlc. "Now set great store by good clothes."

In days of yore he only listened to non music. "Now I enjoy listening to classical music." And he is the first to admit such matters are a question of personal likes or dislikes.

But he sccs nothing contradictory in driving a Mascrati and working with disabled children, although he is quick to add that if you have brain as well as hrawn you run a grave risk of being ty pecast.

So he is more careful in his answer to reporters' queries. Does this perhaps mean that he no longer has a point of view? Is this a new Breitner we see hefore us? A rehel, e reformer or just an opportunist? We shall sec.

Hans-Joachim Levenberg (Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeljung für Deutschland, 6 August 1977)

L'anfares greeted the entry into the ring of Eckhard Dagge, professional boxing's world super welterweight champion. The time was 11 p.m., the data 6 August, tha place Deutachland-halle, West Berlin.

Over ten thousand fans packed the hall to see Dagge, 29 years old and 69.85 kg (154lb), take on Rocco Mattioli, an italo-Australian who weighed in two ounds the lighter.

None of them expacted to see the defender down for the count half an hour later. In his twenty-fifth professional hout this country's first world champ since Max Schmeling was poleaxed by a left hook with forty seconds to go in Round Five: 1.1.1

four inches shorter end five years younger than Dagge, but he was e bundla of energy who laid into the butgoing champ for all he was worth.

Yet the knockout cama as a surprise, since Dagge withatood tha punlahment manfully, was level on points in Rounds One and Three, was in there fighting all the time and in no way a poor performer.

Thirteen months had elapsed since (Frankfurter Neue Presse, 29 July 1977) his sensational knockout defeat of Elisha



Eckhard Dagge after being knocked out (Photo) dpa).

Obed of the Behamas, but Dagge was forced to relinquish the champion's helt in his third dafence of the title.

It was tough luck inasmuch as a win against Mattioli would have meant he would not have had to defend his title for another twelve months, leaving himself time to line up unofficial and lucrative contendera.

As it was, however, Eckhard Degge ended up as Rocco Mattioli's thirty-sixth knockout victim In 53 professional bouts. 48 of which he has won.

Just after midnlght Mattiolf rang his parents at their farm near Melbourne to tell them the good news. The family poorest regions of Italy twenty years ago, the same part of the country as Rocky Marciano's forebears, incidentally.

Manager Willy: Zeller was consoled neither by the record takings of nearly 700,000; deutschmarks nor by the fact that nineteen year-old Jorg "Babyface" Eipel of Berlin won the European wel-terweight crown in a supporting bout.

"Losing the world crown has relegated professionel boxing in this country to The role of an outsider in international terms," Zeller lemented.

(Frankfurter Neue Presso, 8 August 1977)